The History and Antiquities of

St. David's

by

WB Jones & E A Freeman

When 'The History and Antiquities of St. David's' by William Basil Jones and Edward Augustus Freeman was published in 1856 it was a monument to Victorian scholarship, no less than the restoration of the cathedral by Sir George Gilbert Scott in the 1860s and 70s was a monument to Victorian architecture and engineering. Indeed, Scott freely acknowledged his debt to the book as a guide to his restoring hand. The authors were men of great learning and great industry: William Basil Jones was to become Bishop of St. Davids in 1874 and held the see till his death in 1897; Edward Augustus Freeman became in 1884 Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, an honour reserved, in the opinion of many, for the very greatest historian in the land.

As Dr. J Wyn Evans, the present Dean of St. David's, makes clear in his sparkling foreword the book is a treasure house of information and delight.

This facsimile is published by the Cultural Services Division of Pembrokeshire County Council and follows other successful ventures into the field of historical publication.

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24 SEP 18
08 OCT 18
07 DEC 18

WB. Jones & EA. Freeman
The History and Antiquities of St. Davids

Awdur / Author WB. Jones & EA. Freeman

Enw / Title The History and Antiquities of St. Davids

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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

SAINT DAVID'S.

The History and Antiquities

of

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by

W.B.Jones & E.A.Freeman

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Cyngor Sir **Penfro/Pembrokeshire** County Council
Cultural Services / Gwasanaethau Diwylliannol

First published 1856

This edition specially produced by
Cedric Chivers Limited, Bristol
for the publisher
Pembrokeshire County Council
Cultural Services
County Library, Dew Street,
Haverfordwest SA61 1SU
1998

ISBN 1 901550 05 2

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Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd., Chippenham, Wilts.
Bound by Cedric Chivers Limited, Bristol.

FOREWORD
TO THE 1998 EDITION

One sunny late afternoon in the middle 1870s, a group of people assembled outside the West Front of St.Davids Cathedral. This was, however, no ordinary group of tourists; and no ordinary assembly. The Bishop of the Diocese was there; so was one of the Canons Residentiary; a distinguished architect and an equally distinguished historian were also present; as were their respective spouses and relatives. Fortunately the camera was also present and the picture was published in Philip Robson's 1901 Guide to *St.Davids Cathedral* in the Bell's Cathedral Series. The photograph reveals that the Canon Residentiary was James Allen, (1802-1897), Chancellor since 1870, and who would between 1878 and 1895 be Dean of St.Davids. The Bishop was W.Basil Jones (1822-1897); the distinguished historian was Edward Augustus Freeman, (d.1892) Regius Professor of History at Oxford University; and the distinguished architect was Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878).

Together before the West Front, on the Victorian afternoon, we find the four people whose efforts had above all else not only restored the cathedral but secured its survival from a condition of dereliction and near ruin. And it is probable that their meeting before the West Front was not fortuitous but was the 'on site' meeting to consider the next stage of the work: the replacement of the West Front as a memorial to Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875), Basil Jones' predecessor as Bishop and the instigator of the whole process of restoration in 1865. Indeed, it was as a result of his calling together those concerned to rescue the building from its deplorable condition that Sir Gilbert Scott had been called in to report on the state of the fabric of the cathedral. And Scott it was who from 1865 to 1869 had rebuilt the tower, the presbytery and the transepts and was now, in the 1870s involved in repairing the nave. His guide in reconstructing the mediaeval detail within the cathedral, - and he did so surprisingly conservatively, given the bad name he had elsewhere in removing mediaeval work – was, as he himself acknowledged in his reports to the Chapter, the magisterial work written by two other members of the group, W.B.Jones and E.A.Freeman's *The History and Antiquities of St.Davids.*

W.Basil Jones and E.A.Freeman were two Oxford college friends and tutors who used regularly to bring down students to St.Davids; and who in the course of their visits could hardly have failed to notice the decrepitude of the building. Indeed they were among the subscribers for the restoration works undertaken by William Butterfield (1814-1900) in the 1840s. They were also among the earliest members of the Cambrian Archaeological Association;

and were successive Presidents in the years 1875 and 1876. But their most important contribution to the cathedral's well-being was *The History and Antiquities of St.Davids,* which was published in 1856.

The publication of *The History and Antiquities of St.Davids* marked a significant milestone in the study of the cathedral. Whilst acknowledging a debt to previous works such as Browne Willis' *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St.Davids* (1707); denigrating other previously published works such as Manby's *History and Antiquities of the Parish of St.David* (1801); and both the (as then unpublished) manuscript of Archdeacon Yardley's *Menevia Sacra* and the (still unpublished) two volume manuscript collection *Collectanea Menevensis* put together by Archdeacon H.T.Payne (1760-1832) there is a significant amount of new material in the book. This came about from the authors' close attention to detail; their vast knowledge of architectural styles; and the meticulously researched information which they included. The book is well illustrated by plans and prints; is weighted with all sorts of useful and recondite information both about the building, its historical and cultural context and its place in the landscape. It is a book to which anyone who has subsequently worked on the history and architecture of the cathedral owes a deep and lasting debt, since many, though not all, of the authors' conclusions as to the development of the structure of the cathedral and the close still stand examination today.

Given their knowledge and experience of Gothic buildings, some of their conclusions seem robust if not tendentious to those of us who today have the care of a building such as St.Davids Cathedral: in their preference, for example, for earlier rather than late Gothic; and also their dismissal of styles developed after the end of the Gothic period; or even of early Gothic revival architecture. A major target of their contempt was the 'Strawberry Hill' Gothic revival West Front built by John Nash in 1793. 'Modern'; 'sad deficiency'; 'the worst form of modern antique'; a 'structure which combines Romanesque, Decorated and Perpendicular in one mass of hopeless confusion', - although they did concede that it escaped 'flimsiness' and did not detract from the view of the building by moonlight. To be fair to Nash, and neither Jones nor Freeman wanted to be, he was faced with a major crisis in the imminent collapse of the West Front; and to our eyes today, his reconstruction of the front was more in keeping with the late Perpendicular rebuild of the nave than Scott's more academic effort. The design of the new (and present) West Front was Scott's last contribution to the works at St.Davids, and it was seen through to its conclusion not only by Basil Jones as Bishop, but also and more particularly by the fourth Victorian titan present outside Nash's doomed front that day, James Allen, who both as Chancellor and as Dean expended from his own resources considerable sums of money in paying for the restoration of the building.

As Allen's successor over a century later, it gives me great pleasure not only in acknowledging a personal debt to Jones and Freeman in preparing my own work on the cathedral, but also as Dean in providing myself and my predecessors, and no doubt my successors, with a standard work of reference as we approach not only the regular care of the jewel in Pembrokeshire – and Wales' – crown but also a major programme of restoration to complete that inspired in the nineteenth century by Jones and Freeman, Allen and Scott. It thus gives me great pleasure to compliment the Cultural Services Division of Pembrokeshire County Council on its initiative in seeking to make readily available once again both to scholars and the general public this great achievement of Victorian scholarship.

J.Wyn Evans
Dean of St.Davids

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

SAINT DAVID'S.

BY

WILLIAM BASIL JONES, M.A.,

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,

AND

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

LONDON:
J. H. & J. PARKER, J. RUSSELL SMITH, AND J. PETHERAM.
TENBY: R. MASON.
1856.

ERRATUM.

At page 137, the Arms of Roche (viz., *Gu:* 3 *roaches naiant in pale ar:*—No. 46) are erroneously given as those of Picton.

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

CONNOP THIRLWALL, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF SAINT DAVID'S.

My Lord,

The History of your Lordship's Cathedral Church and See, which we have been at last enabled to bring to its completion, can, on no grounds personal or official, be inscribed to any other person with the same propriety as to your Lordship.

In investigating the splendid remains of the Church and Palace of St. David's, we have not forgotten that, though the practical necessities of modern times require your Lordship's ordinary presence in other parts of your Diocese, yet the ancient seat of your illustrious predecessors has received a greater share of interest and attention at your Lordship's hands than at those of any Bishop of St. David's for a long time past.

The early history of the See of St. David's has naturally led us to a somewhat elaborate examination of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Wales.

This portion of our work we have especial pleasure in laying before the first, for so long a time, among the successors of St. David who has been able to address the Welsh portion of his flock in their own language. In a labour too which has involved much historical research and reflection, it will be the highest satisfaction should we be thought to have brought, to the investigation of obscure periods, perverted by controversial misrepresentations, any portion of that spirit of calm and critical inquiry which it is our own fault we if have not imbibed from your Lordship's historical writings.

That your Lordship may long be spared alike to historical literature and to the Diocese of St. David's is the sincere wish of

Your Lordship's obedient Servants.

WILLIAM BASIL JONES,

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN.

PREFACE.

We have at length the satisfaction of laying before our readers a work which has cost us a considerable amount of time and pains, and which we have endeavoured to render as complete as possible in all respects. The place which it undertakes to describe is so little known, and was until of late so utterly inaccessible, that we may venture to regard it as a territory newly added to the domain of Archæology, and ourselves in the light of discoverers. It is true that two writers have preceded us in our task. In the early part of the last century, Browne Willis undertook to write descriptive and historical accounts of the four Welsh Cathedrals. His *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's*, which appeared in 1716, is a valuable monograph for the age in which it was written; and the strictly historical portion of it, which is all that we owe to Browne Willis himself, is of high value absolutely as well as relatively. The description of St. David's was furnished by a person resident on the spot, as Browne Willis had no opportunity of visiting it in person until after the appearance of the work.[1] We are under great obligations to the author, and are further indebted to him for having embodied in his work an accurate account of the place by an anonymous writer of the sixteenth century.

The other account of St. David's is the work of an author whose celebrity is probably not inferior to that of his predecessor, although it

[1] Browne Willis' Bangor; Dedication to Bishop Ottley.

rests, happily for himself, less upon his literary merits, than upon a useful and humane invention. We speak of *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Saint David, South Wales*, by the late Captain G. W. Manby, R.N., which was published in the year 1801. The book is not without value; but its value consists partly in rendering accessible to the general reader a large part of the scarce work of Browne Willis, which it copies *verbatim* and without acknowledgment, and partly in showing what absurdities may be written upon any subject by an author who is profoundly ignorant of it.

The works of two more labourers in the same field exist only in manuscript. Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan from 1739 to 1770, made a collection of notes and documents relating to St. David's, which are now bound in two small quarto volumes, and preserved in the library of the Earl of Cawdor, at Golden Grove, under the title of *Menevia Sacra*. With them is another volume containing a brief abstract of the Cathedral Statutes, as well as one by another hand. The *Menevia Sacra*, is chiefly occupied with brief biographies of the Bishops, Dignitaries, Prebendaries, and other officers of the Cathedral, and the last-mentioned volume, which we have quoted as "a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Cawdor," goes very much over the same ground.

A more elaborate work, containing a considerable amount of original matter, in addition to the results of unwearied research, is preserved in the Chapter-house, among the archives of the Cathedral. It consists of two large folio volumes, closely written, being the work of the late Henry Thomas Payne, Archdeacon of Caermarthen. Its author gave it the title of *Collectanea Menevensia*, under which we have referred to it. It contains an alphabetical digest of the Statutes, an abstract of the Cathedral Register, extracts from the annual Computi, with a considerable amount of documentary matter from other sources, illustrated by annotations, and

preceded by a long and learned Introduction. In point of careful thought, as well as indefatigable industry, the work is above all praise. Yet it cannot be denied that the author's conjectures are not always felicitous, that he is occasionally somewhat uncritical, and that even as a transcriber of records he was not always to be trusted. He has been led, and has led others, into some ludicrous errors, in consequence of his want of skill in deciphering MSS.

It will be necessary briefly to indicate the sources of information of which we have made use for the historical portion of our work. We have made the notices of St. David's in the *Annales Cambriæ* (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, I. p. 830) the framework of our history of the British period, although many details both legendary and historical had to be supplied from the Lives of St. David in the volume recently issued by the Welsh MSS. Society, as well as from the works of Giraldus Cambrensis in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*. This period, however, required, and has received at our hands, a careful criticism, as a necessary condition of arriving at anything like the truth with regard to it. How far we have succeeded in our endeavours to do so, we must leave to our readers to determine.

For the period immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest, the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis afford copious materials. The history of the Bishops from the thirteenth century to the Reformation has been given very briefly, and we are indebted for our data almost entirely to the industry of Archdeacon Yardley. But the development of the capitular constitution during this period, a point upon which we have bestowed considerable pains, had to be made out principally from the Statutes and Ordinances of the Cathedral. The Registers of the Chapter Acts have supplied us with abundant information with reference to the period subsequent to the Reformation.

The documents preserved in the archives of the Chapter are far less full than could be desired. Those of which we have made use are the Statute Books, the Registers, and the *Libri Communes.*

The earliest copy of the Statutes in the possession of the Chapter is a small folio volume neatly written on parchment, and thus intituled :—

Liber Statutorum Ecclesiæ Cath : Menev : transcript : anno Dn̄ī ciɔiɔclxxxv^{to} *ex dono Rev^{di} viri Timothei Halton S : T : P : Archidiaconi Brecon & Canonici huius Ec̄cliæ Residentiarij.*

Under this is written in a modern hand,

"Produced and received in Evidence in the C^{t} of Exch. 16 July 1829. L^{d} Kensington agst Pughe."

We have invariably referred to the pages of this copy, and quoted it under the title of *Liber Statutorum.*

The Registers consist of a series of folio volumes, distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, commencing in the year 1560, and continued to the present time.

The *Libri Communes*, containing the Chapter accounts, also consist of a series of folio volumes. The earliest, marked No. I., is partly contemporary, but also contains the accounts of earlier years transcribed apparently from rolls, about the commencement of the seventeenth century. So much of it as relates to the period before the Reformation has been printed in an Appendix (No. IV.) The accounts comprised in this portion, although copied in chronological order, are unfortunately by no means continuous. The following extract from a paper by one of the authors in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1854 (pp. 52, 3) will give the reader some idea of their nature :—

"The care of them appears to have been intrusted to an officer called the Communarius —generally, and probably always, a member of the College of Vicars Choral. This

officer, who in one instance at least was in Holy Orders, and in another combined his duties with that of Organist, appears to have stood to the Supervisor or Master of the Fabric, annually elected from among the Canons, in the same relation that the Sub-sacrist did to the Treasurer; but it is evident from the scanty data which we possess that his office was held in perpetuity. It may be added that his labours were by no means gratuitous; although the remuneration seems to have varied at different times.

"The accounts themselves appear in two forms. In the first place we have a weekly statement of expenses, confined as it would seem to those which were incurred in some particular work, as in the repairs of the fabric. These statements, copies of which were probably sent up weekly by the Communar to the Master of the Fabric or the Chapter, bear the title of 'Communicata,' and the disbursements of each week are headed with the following formula: 'Communicata 1° die mensis Januarii pro septimana precedente.' I think, moreover, that I am not mistaken in asserting that the returns were always made on *Sunday*.

"Further, we have an annual summary of receipts and expenditure, called the 'Computus,' or as it is frequently written, by a pardonable error, the 'Compotus.' This account is always calculated from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, and is headed in the following manner:—

'Compotus Domini Johannis Emlott Communarii Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Menevensis et residentium in eadem per viginti sex septimanas a Festo S^ti^ Petri ad vincula usque ad idem festum anno revoluto.'

"It unfortunately happens that we have no means of judging of the exact relation in which these two systems stand to each other: as the Communicata only occur for the year 1384, and the earliest Computus is that of William Warryn, in 1490. Subsequently we have Computi of William Warryn in 1492, of John Emlott in 1539, and 1541, of William Martyn in 1557, and of Griffith ap Howell in 1560 and 1565. After this period they become more regular; but they are not quite continuous until the middle of the seventeenth century."

It only remains to present our grateful acknowledgments to those by whom we have been assisted directly or indirectly in our undertaking;

particularly to the Right Hon. the Earl of Cawdor, for having kindly placed at our disposal the invaluable MSS. of Archdeacon Yardley; to Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill, for the transcript of a heraldic MS. of George Owen, the Pembrokeshire Antiquary; to the Very Rev. Llewelyn Lewellin, Dean, and to the Venerable Archdeacon Davies, the Rev. George Harries, the Rev. Chancellor Melvill, and the Rev. William Richardson, Canons Residentiary of St. David's, for the free access afforded to us to the documents in the possession of the Chapter, as well as for much valuable private information, and unceasing personal kindness; and to R. Kyrke Penson, Esq., of Oswestry, for the careful and minute ground-plan of the Cathedral which he has drawn for us.

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

SAINT DAVID'S.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The Episcopal See of St. David's, the history of which we have undertaken to record, is situated at the western extremity of Pembrokeshire, sixteen miles distant from the market and county town of Haverfordwest. It is consequently placed at the extreme point of South Wales, and, with the exception of the Land's End, which projects beyond it about a third of a degree, on the most westerly promontory of South Britain.[a] A position so singular, especially with reference to the diocese of which it was designed to be the religious centre, has necessarily produced most important results in the past and present condition of St. David's. It will therefore be impossible fairly to elucidate its history, without considering one among the most active causes of the events which we shall have to chronicle; and it may be added, that the reader will form a very inadequate conception of the wonderful remains existing there, without

[a] The highest part of the North Bishop Rock, off St. David's Head, is 51° 54′ 10″ N., and 5° 23′ 6″ W.—*Admiralty Chart of Ramsey Sound, &c.*, by Commander Sheringham, 1838. The Land's End is 5° 42′ W.

CHAP. I.
GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

having attempted to realize the strange and desolate scenery by which they are surrounded.

Geology and Physical Features of the Country.

The western shore of Pembrokeshire may be regarded as the point of contact between the coasts of Cardigan Bay and the Bristol Channel: the former reaches in an almost continuous sweep of ninety miles from Traeth Mawr to Strumble Head; the latter, with its many winding shores, bays, and inlets, may be supposed to terminate at the mouth of Milford Haven. Between them the western shore of Pembrokeshire presents its front, not unbroken, to the incessant assaults of the Atlantic. The ocean has in the lapse of ages produced remarkable results on the features of the country; but the record of those changes, which would appropriately form the first chapter in the history of the place, belongs to another science than Archæology. It will be sufficient to indicate briefly the relation which the Geology of the district bears to the form of its coast, and its general features.

The northern part of Pembrokeshire is comprised in the great Cambrian or slate system, while the southern belongs chiefly to the carboniferous formation, and that of the old red sandstone. Both of these districts have suffered severely from the attacks of the western ocean; but it is impossible to say how much further they would have suffered, or where the limits of our island in this direction would have been placed, if they had not found auxiliaries in the form of a vast series of igneous rocks, intruding through the existing strata, disturbing them, and altering their constitution, yet forming an effectual protection against their common enemy. This system stretches in dykes and scattered masses over a region extending about thirty miles east and west, and more than twenty north and south; not continuously however, particularly in the latter direction, as the dykes are carried principally from east to west. In the northern part of this district the strata have been upheaved into considerable elevations, of which the summits are generally formed of the hard igneous rock. The principal eminence, Preseley Top, the central point of the range bearing the same name, is not less than 1754 feet above the level of the sea. In various places the trap rocks crop out above the surface in a very remarkable manner, sometimes from the summits or the sides of hills, at others, from the level plain, rising sheer to the height of thirty or forty feet, and in one or two instances to a much greater elevation.

Of these intrusive rocks two great groups are found on the extreme western shore. One, near St. David's, forms the commencement of a series reaching to Preseley; the other appears near St. Bride's, and the islands of Skomar and Skokholm. These groups are distant from each other about seven or eight miles in a line from north to south; and while they have for ages resisted the fury of the Atlantic, the land which united them, composed of the softer rocks of the carboniferous era, has been hollowed out into a bay, to an extent of nine miles eastward of the line which joins their extremities; and, far to the west of this ideal line, isolated masses of the same igneous rock stand out, the fragments of a lost land, and the bulwarks of that which remains. The series of rocks which extends to Skomar, is prolonged for not less than fifteen miles to the west in Grasholm and the Smalls; while the more northern group is represented by the cluster of islets known as the "Bishop and his Clerks." Meanwhile, on the shore itself, the results have been most remarkable. We have seen that the ocean has extended its ravages for nine miles beyond the imaginary line which joins the headlands, hollowing out the magnificent basin known as St. Bride's Bay. Thus the great promontory of Pembrokeshire has in effect been broken into two distinct peninsulas; that to the south dividing St. Bride's Bay from Milford Haven and the Bristol Channel, and the northern one, which forms a part of the Hundred of Dewisland, separating it from Cardigan Bay. And the extremities of these horns have in both instances been broken off, the isles of Skomar and Skokholm having been detached from the former, and Ramsey Island from the latter; while the shore of the mainland has throughout received a most irregular outline from the gradual destruction of the softer rocks, and the resistance of the harder.

The peninsula of Dewisland, with which we are chiefly concerned, extends about eight miles east and west from Newgale to Ramsey Sound; its base, as measured from Newgale to Abercastell, being about seven miles across. It terminates to the west in three bold headlands, separated by intervals of about a mile and a quarter each. The most northern of these headlands is that to which St. David's has given name. The remaining two are sheltered from the west by Ramsey Island, which is separated from the mainland by a channel varying in width from a mile to half a mile. The whole of this peninsula, with the exception of a strip of granite on the south-east, belongs to the Cambrian system, and consists of slates, sandstones, and conglomerates, pene-

CHAP. I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

trated and broken up in various places by the trap rocks already described. These rocks, which in the northern part of the peninsula take the form of long narrow dykes, are collected towards the south and west into more extensive masses. The general aspect of the country is that of a large plain, with a slightly undulating surface, and sloping gradually from east to west, so that it rarely rises, near its western extremity, more than fifty or sixty feet above the sea. It is bounded throughout by precipitous cliffs, which are generally higher towards the eastern parts of the peninsula. But the monotony of this extensive plain is relieved in various places by the protruding masses of trap rock already described. There is a remarkable group of them near the south-western promontory; two of which, bare and precipitous on every side, bear the names of Carn Rossan and Clegyr Foia respectively: with these must be classed two heath-clad hills in Ramsey Island, the higher of which rises between four and five hundred feet from the sea. But by far the most remarkable group, is one which stretches like a miniature mountain range for about three miles from near St. David's Head, in a direction bearing nearly E.N.E. It is terminated at each end by a bare precipitous peak, both rising about six hundred feet from the sea, and to a considerable elevation above the surrounding plain.[b] The more western, which bears the name of Carn Llidi,[c] from the lower level of the ground from which it rises, has a more commanding effect; but the outline of each is magnificent. The other is called Penbery. Between them, a ridge of high ground, crowned with three or four denuded masses of rock, stretches like a curtain, and serves to screen St. David's from the north.

These projecting rocks are not the only interruptions which the plain of Dewisland has received; it has also been channelled out into narrow winding valleys, which afford a passage to a few inconsiderable streams. Of these, the principal are the Solva (Solfach), and the Alan. The former, which drains the more inland portions of the peninsula, works its way through a picturesque little valley, to a creek of St. Bride's Bay about three miles west from Newgale,

[b] The exact altitude of Carn Llidi is 592 feet above the sea.—*Admiralty Chart.* Penbery is said to be higher by a few feet.

[c] We have adopted here, as in most other cases, the orthography of the Ordnance Map, No. 40; that of No. 39, and of the Admiralty Chart, is Carn Llaeithty. The testimony of popular pronunciation is in this case divided, but that of the majority appears to favour the latter form.

into which it falls beside the little town to which it has given its name. The Alan runs from an extensive tract of moorland called Dowrog, lying a little to the south of Penbery Rock. Its course, though tortuous, is in general from N.N.E. to S.S.W., and for the last two or three miles runs through a narrow and winding dell, similar in character to that of the Solva, although not nearly so picturesque, inasmuch as the banks from the westward inclination of the country are much lower. The Alan, a much smaller stream than the Solva, empties itself, like that river, into a creek, and into one of nearly relative proportions. This creek is called Porthclais, and lies about three miles and a half west of Solva, and one mile and a half from the south-western promontory.[d]

State of Cultivation, &c.

The whole of this district, from the dip of the country towards the west, and the want of hills to shelter it, is necessarily exposed to the extreme violence of the sea-winds. These sweep over it at times with irresistible strength, and at all times the atmosphere is such as might be expected from its peninsular situation. Accordingly the absence of trees is all but universal; the few which exist, from their solitary position, their withered and blasted aspect, and their palpable abhorrence of the sea, serving only to give the country a wilder and more desolate appearance. Plantations have been formed in the more sheltered valleys, in that of the Solva with some degree of success, but in that of the Alan with very little. Yet this has not always been the case. It is true that the description of this country, which Giraldus Cambrensis gives us in his *Itinerary*, would answer to it tolerably well in the present time.[e] But the remains of a submarine forest may occasionally be seen in Whitesand Bay, to the south of St. David's Head; and similar traces were discovered near Newgale in the time of Giraldus himself, and were as great a mystery then as now.[f] And the roots and trunks of large trees are occasionally found in boggy places, where they must have been fully exposed to the influence of the sea-wind.[g]

[d] See the Geological Survey of Great Britain, vol. I., Memoirs I. II.; and the Ordnance Map, coloured in accordance with the Survey.

[e] Itin. Camb., II. c. i.

[f] *Ibid.*, I. c. xiii. It appears from E. Lhuyd's additions to Camden that roots and trunks of trees, and even pieces of timber, hewn and squared, have been discovered at Porth-stinan. —*Gibson's Camden*, p. 635.

[g] Browne Willis, p. 46.

CHAP. I.
GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The absence of woods, and especially of hedge-row timber, precludes the country from ever assuming the rich and variegated aspect of an inland plain, which gives to English scenery its greatest charm. The western portion indeed, scarcely boasts of a quickset hedge, the whole country, where it is enclosed at all (and this has been effected principally within the last few years), being divided by stone and sod fences, or by rough stone walls. On the steep sides of the narrow valleys, on Ramsey Island, and towards St. David's Head and the range of hills of which it forms the termination, large tracts are utterly uncultivated, being overgrown with gorse and heather, and strewn with large stones, either boulders, or the detritus of the neighbouring rocks. There are also extensive moors, containing shallow pools nearly dried up in summer, but augmented by the winter rains. Among these are Dowrog, already mentioned, and Rhossan, lying between Carn Rossan and Clegyr Foia. However, by far the greatest part of the country is under cultivation, and, in spite of its desolate appearance, yields excellent crops of corn. It was noted for barley in the sixteenth century,[h] and fully keeps up its reputation at the present day. The land is generally divided into rather small holdings; but the farmers, although poor as compared with men of the corresponding class in England, or even in the south of Pembrokeshire, are as a rule better off than in other parts of Wales. They are generally simple in their habits, but are often wealthy for their position, and a large proportion farm their own freeholds. The few homesteads are very commonly grouped in clusters of two or three, with one common appellation. One might suspect this to be a result of the ancient Welsh custom of gavel-kind. These, with larger hamlets and villages, are scattered pretty plentifully over the country, and are rendered the more conspicuous by the universality of whitewash, which, common enough in all parts of South Wales, is here extended to the very gate-posts in the fields: it is therefore needless to say that every part of the houses, roof, chimneys and all, has been subjected to this universal means of decoration.

The whole country is intersected by an intricate system of roads, which, with one or two exceptions, are in very bad condition. The main road leading from Haverfordwest to St. David's is certainly not one of these exceptions: turnpikes

[h] "*Dewys* Land, *alias Pebidiauc*, and *Canterdewy*, bare of Wood and meately plentiful of Barly Corne, and reasonably of al other Corne."—*Leland, Itin.* V. fol. 27.—Browne Willis, pp. 33, 34.

are, happily or unhappily, unknown; and the only public conveyance which ever ventures within the sacred limits of Dewisland, is a slow omnibus which plies twice a week between the towns above mentioned. If roads, canals, and railways are the arteries of kingdoms, it must be confessed that the circulation of Great Britain is very feeble in one of its extremities. Altogether, there is no part of this island, south of the Tweed, more thoroughly and completely out of the world, and certainly none in which we should less expect to find the Cathedral of an extensive diocese.

Approach to St. David's.

In order to prepare our readers for the description of St. David's itself, we will briefly detail the route by which the place is ordinarily reached, namely, from the neighbouring town of Haverfordwest. That town, at present one of the largest and most important in Wales, bears distinct marks of its foreign origin in its commanding position, the frowning battlements of its castle, the number of its churches, and the dialect of its inhabitants. Indeed, the surrounding country, constituting the ancient Earldom of Pembroke, as well in the two last mentioned characteristics, as in the number and magnificence of its military remains, bears the impress of foreign aggression and dominion. The very style of the parish churches, with their strong and lofty towers, appears to betoken that the worshippers sang "the Lord's song in a strange land," not as captives indeed, but as conquerors, yet as conquerors by no means secure from attacks and reprisals.

It is from this district, thoroughly and completely feudalized, and if not altogether like England, certainly much less like Wales, that the approach is generally made to St. David's, situated in a region as entirely Celtic as can well be conceived. The only marks of foreign influence in Dewisland are its magnificent ecclesiastical remains; and these, although they are in fact relics of external domination, are not so palpably so as the castles and walled towns which abound in the south of Pembrokeshire. After an uphill journey of six miles from Haverfordwest, the traveller approaches the last of these fortresses in Roch Castle, a solitary tower perched on an overhanging crag, from which it takes its name, and overlooking a deep valley which forms now, as of old, the boundary between the two nations. From this point the view is most extensive and magnificent. On turning back towards Haverfordwest, which appears in the middle distance, the eye ranges over a vast expanse of champain

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country, well tilled and wooded, dotted with villages and towers, and bounded on the south and east by the heights which overlook the Bristol Channel. To the north-east the distance is occupied by the long range of the Preseley mountains; and on the north, a high ridge of heath-clad hill stands out boldly in the foreground, terminated to the right by a singular group of columnar rocks. To the west lies the great bay of St. Bride's, for the most part intensely calm, and of the deepest blue. Right and left of it the land stretches out its long arms to the Atlantic, their extremities broken into multitudinous islands. Finally, the great peninsula of Dewisland is crested with the serrated ranges of Carn Llidi and Penbery, which stand out against the sky to the north-west.

The position and arrangement of the rocks and islands is continually shifting as we advance in the direction of St. David's, whither the route from this point lies parallel with the shore, and accordingly, for the most part across a series of steep and narrow valleys, none of which are at all interesting, with the exception of the picturesque creek of Solva. After having advanced nearly four miles from the place last mentioned, the traveller finds himself descending a gentle declivity into something like a town, consisting chiefly of mean houses, a few of them thatched, and all of course whitewashed, and built so irregularly as scarcely to deserve the appellation of a street. Some of them advance to the road, others recede from it, many turn half away from it; some have court-yards in front, a few have gardens, but by far the majority have pigsties. On descending further, the street widens out into an open space, the centre of which is occupied by a mutilated cross.[i] And then the upper part of a weather-beaten tower close at hand attracts the attention; the pinnacles hardly reach above the level of the eye, and the church to which it belongs is buried in a deep dell immediately in front of the spectator.

A steep and narrow lane, formerly bearing the name of Pit Street, but in these days ordinarily known as the "Popples,"[j] leads to the principal gate of the Close, flanked on the left hand by a semicircular bastion, and on the right by an extremely beautiful tower of an octagonal form, which will be described in its proper place. Upon passing the archway, and gaining a small wicket gate on the right hand, a wonderful prospect bursts upon the spectator, who

[i] Since this was written, the epithet has ceased to be applicable.

[j] Supposed to be a corruption of "pebbles," a name given by a strange euphemism or *μείωσις* to the gigantic shingle-stones with which the road is paved.

comes suddenly in sight of the whole Close, the Cathedral lying immediately in front of him, the ruined Palace with its exquisite open parapet to the left, backed by a steep rising bank, and the sharp tops of Carn Llidi and Penbery in the distance. A more minute description of the various views of the Cathedral and its precincts may be deferred until we have occasion to describe the architecture of the Cathedral itself, which, so far as the exterior is concerned, depends considerably on the surrounding objects for its general effect.[k]

Town of St. David's.

In the meantime we will pursue our general description of the district, and in the first place we must devote a few words to the town itself. This has consisted, for a considerable space of time, of exactly the same number of streets, known severally as High Street, Pit Street, New Street, Nun Street, and Ship Street.[l] The first is the approach from Haverfordwest, the position of the second has been already described. Nun Street and New Street both run at right angles to High Street, the former meeting it at the Cross, the latter somewhat more to the east. Ship Street also meets High Street at the Cross, from whence it runs in a south-westerly direction. Besides these, there are several alleys and passages which it is hopeless and needless to describe. The general appearance of the houses has been already indicated. But, not to mention the prebendal manses in the Close, there are in the town itself several comfortable houses, though none of any size. And within the last few years the number of these has been considerably increased, while gutters have been opened, and pigsties levelled, and the whole place has made a respectable advance in the direction of civilization. Our satisfaction at these changes is not altogether unmixed, as they occasionally involve the sacrifice of interesting domestic remains; a class of antiquities rather large in proportion to the size of the place, the more minute description of which is reserved for another chapter.

The population of the town cannot well be estimated distinctly from that of the parish. The latter is divided into four townships, called Cylchs ("Circles" or "Courses"), bearing severally the names of Cylch-y-Dref,—from the town, which is near its centre,—Cylch-Bychan, on the east,—Cylch-Mawr, on the

[k] See chap. III.

[l] See the bird's-eye view of St. David's in the Map of Pembrokeshire, given in Speed's "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain," vol. I. See also Browne Willis, p. 48.

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north,—and Cylch-Gwaelod-o-Wlâd, otherwise called Dewiston, on the west, along the sea-shore. To these must be added the Close or Valley, which is extra-parochial, though locally included in Cylch-y-Dref, and the islands, which are extra-parochial also. We are fortunate in possessing accounts of the population at various periods from the beginning of the last century to the present time; these will be given at length in an Appendix. At present it is sufficient to observe that the total population of the parish is 2513, of which 1150 inhabit Cylch-y-Dref, including the Close, and may therefore be considered to represent the population of the town.

The town has no corporation or municipal government of any kind; and a functionary annually chosen, and bearing the title of Mayor, is merely an officer of the Bishop's Manorial Court.[m] Neither has it any share in the representation; although it was intended by the Reform Bill to have been united with Haverfordwest, Narberth and Fishguard. The limits of the borough were to have been those of the Cylch-y-Dref.[n]

Coast Scenery:

The sea-side walks are certainly one of the greatest attractions of the place. The dreary monotony of the inland, its treeless fences, and unshaded lanes, is more than compensated by the facility of escaping to the shore, afforded by its peninsular situation. The bold points and deep indentations, the ever-varying forms and tints of the cliffs, the deep and clear water, the caves, the sunny nooks of smooth sand, the groups of islands and isolated rocks, and, above all, the fresh and inspiriting atmosphere, contribute to make a walk along the edge of the cliffs one of the most enjoyable things that can be imagined. For the irregular character of the coast renders it impossible to continue a walk for any distance along the bottom of the cliffs, and there is generally a beaten track skirting their summits. Along this we will endeavour to lead the reader's imagination as briefly and intelligibly as we can, commencing our journey at the point where the boundary line of St. David's parish meets the shore of St.

Porth-y-Rhaw to Porthclais;

Bride's Bay. This takes place at a little cove bearing the appellation of Porth-y-Rhaw, nearly in front of Llanunwas. The creek stands at the mouth of a

[m] His only duty "is to see that no encroachments are made on a common which the inhabitants hold under an old lease from the Bishop and Chapter, and to levy a rate on them to pay the rent for it."—*Report of Commissioners of Parliamentary Boroughs*, p. 163.

[n] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

little dell with steep grassy sides, and is defended on the east by a remarkable peninsulated fortification, which will be described hereafter. From hence to Caerbwdy, the next creek, a distance of about a mile and a half, the path runs along the edge of high slate cliffs, generally perpendicular, and with strata much contorted in many places. They are less broken than is common on the coast, probably from the uniform hardness of the rock of which they are composed. But they command magnificent views, both across the bay, and in particular towards the west, in which direction a long series of promontories and islets stretching one beyond the other, is terminated by the broken shores of Ramsey Island. Caerbwdy is a picturesque creek, and receives a little stream which rises in Dowrog Pool, crosses the Haverfordwest road at a place called Clegyr, and makes its way from that point for about half a mile down a narrow dell, strewn with gigantic boulder stones, to the sea, turning a mill-wheel near its mouth. A narrow promontory separating the creek of Caerbwdy from that of Caerfai, stretches into the bay for a quarter of a mile. Its head is nearly insulated by a deep channel running in from the west between cliffs so perpendicular and so regular, from the vertical position of the strata, as to have altogether the appearance of an artificial cutting. The isthmus is defended by a remarkable earthwork, which will be described hereafter, and is completely perforated by a cavern continued from the channel already mentioned, over which it forms in fact a natural bridge. A small cluster of isolated rocks, haunted by cormorants and oyster-catchers, lies off the point, and bears the name of Penpleidiau,—

"Apricis statio gratissima mergis."

From this place is obtained one of the best general views of the bay. The slate cliffs which we have traversed between Porth-y-Rhaw and Caerbwdy present a very remarkable appearance from the peculiar contortions of their strata. Further east a high range of cliffs shows itself beyond the entrance of Solva harbour; and two islets lie off it, bearing the names of the Black and Green Scar, and known by the additional and less euphonious title of the Scrubs. Still further the eastern and southern shores of the bay are now fully displayed from Roch Castle to Wooltack Point and the adjacent isles of Skokholm and Skomar. Nearly midway between Ramsey and the latter, the small island of Grasholm lies on the horizon.

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Caerfai is perhaps the prettiest creek on the coast. It shows a considerable extent of firm sand at low tide; and the cliffs on either side of it are remarkably varied in form and colour, broken into detached pinnacles, pierced by deep caverns, and partly clothed with ivy and other vegetation. On the north-western side are the quarries of red and purple sandstone out of which the Cathedral is chiefly built.

A walk of less than half a mile across a headland called Pen-y-Cyfrwy, brings us to another bay not less striking than Caerfai, but of a different character. Its general aspect is much wilder; the rocks though not generally high are broken into finer masses, and near the north-eastern angle, where they assume a columnar form, rise to a considerable elevation. The water is deep and filled with partly sunken rocks; and the cliffs are penetrated by deep caverns. This bay derives the name of Nun's Well from a well and ruined chapel dedicated to St. Nonita; and it is the nearest point of the shore to the town of St. David's. On the western shore of this bay there is a natural ledge in the rock, called the Chanter's Seat, which is one of the best points of view for St. Bride's Bay. The next promontory has acquired the name of Trwyn Cynddeiriog,[o] from the fury with which the waves break over it when the wind blows strongly from the south-west. A small bay intervenes between this point and Porthclais, which is a narrow creek running inland for about a quarter of a mile, and sheltered at the mouth by a small pier, the property of the Chapter of St. David's,[p] and rebuilt by them in the year 1722.[q] This forms the harbour of St. David's, and receives the waters of the little river Alan. It is highly picturesque; the sides, though not precipitous, are steep, and clothed with gorse and heather, varied by jutting masses of rock. Seen from the pier it is well backed by the projecting rock at Clegyr Foia. Porthclais is subject to the Port of Milford.

Porthclais to Whitesand Bay;

The shore becomes much wilder as we proceed towards the west. The next creek is called Porthlisky,[r] and is about a mile distant from Porthclais. The intervening cliffs are much broken, with deep fissures and caverns; and in

[o] "Mad Point." [p] Report of Commissioners of Parliamentary Boroughs, p. 163.
[q] Fenton, p. 120.
[r] The name appears to be connected with that of Leschi, who is recorded in the Life of St. David as having defeated and put to death the tyrant Boia.—*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 633.

a strong south or south-west wind the sea is most glorious. Two isolated rocks lie off this point, and almost close the entrance of Porthlisky, bearing severally the names of Carreg-frân, and Carreg yr Esgob (Crow-rock and Bishop's Rock). Porthlisky is a very pretty creek, much resembling Caerfai, but without its beautiful sand. It lies open to the south-west, but forms a good shelter for shipping in any other wind.

A bold promontory nearly a mile in breadth separates Porthlisky from Ramsey Sound. The cliffs at its southern extremity are among the finest on the coast. Pen-y-Foel is a grand peninsular rock, with a bold round summit. A projecting trap rock a few hundred yards inland crowns the promontory, and affords a splendid panoramic view. From hence the coast begins to trend to the north and north-east, forming for nearly two miles the eastern shore of Ramsey Sound. This space is bounded on the north and south by two of the three promontories we have mentioned above[1] as terminating the land in this direction, and of which one has just been described. The shore between them forms a large bay, at the southern and northern extremities of which there are subordinate inlets bearing the names of Carnarwig and Porth-stinan respectively, and forming the ordinary places of embarkation for Ramsey Island. Between them lies a small fortified peninsula, which will be mentioned in its place; and near Carnarwig there is a deserted copper mine. At this point a broad walk, or a narrow drive, has been formed by the proprietor of the land, winding for a considerable distance along the edge of the cliff, and affording extremely striking and varied views of the opposite shores of Ramsey and the foaming channel which intervenes. Porth-stinan derives its name from St. Justinian or Stinan, whose body was landed here from Ramsey, and to whom a chapel close to the shore is dedicated. Purple sandstone, of the kind which is quarried at Caerfai, appears in this place, and gives a remarkable effect to the cliffs.

The more northern of the headlands just mentioned separates Porth-stinan from Whitesand Bay. The view which is obtained on doubling the headland, and approaching a little cove called Porthseli, famous for pretty pebbles, is altogether most striking. The graceful curve of the bay makes an admirable foreground, and is well backed by the peaked and jagged outline of Carn Llidi, Penbery and the intervening heights. From Carn Llidi, which forms a fine central object, the land is prolonged westward for about a mile, and terminates in the extremely

[1] See above, p. 3.

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bluff promontory to which St. David's has given its name. The eastern part of Whitesand Bay is occupied by firm level sands of about a mile in length, which run up to the base of Carn Llidi, and are exposed at low tide. At their northern extremity is a curious peninsula, bearing the appellation of Trwyn Hwrddyn, and beyond it the slate rocks rise to a considerable elevation with vertical strata, and have been quarried for roofing slates. Between these quarries and Trwyn Hwrddyn, at a point where the vertical schistose strata have been penetrated by extremely narrow strips of a light-coloured igneous rock, we have observed a considerable efflorescence of alum on the face of the cliff, marking the lines of the cleavage. At the northern end of Whitesand Bay, a deep inlet called Porth-melgan lies immediately under the shelter of St. David's Head. This, as well as the more eastern part of Whitesand Bay, has been suggested as a fit place for the terminus of the South Wales Railway, and a packet station for the south of Ireland. The same distinction has been claimed for Fishguard, and for a place called Abermawr. To which it will be ultimately awarded, or if to any, is a problem which it is not altogether the business of archæologists to solve.[t]

Abereiddy to Whitesand Bay;

In our third walk we have chosen to invert the order hitherto observed, and to commence at the point where the parish of St. David's meets that of Llanrian, continuing our course to St. David's Head. On the north side of Abereiddy Bay there are extensive slate quarries; and at its south-western end an immense earthwork gives name to the adjoining farm of Pwllcaerog. Further west is a narrow inlet between high rocks, called Aberpwll, with a deep cave near its mouth; a small rivulet is brought down to turn a wheel, giving the little cove a singularly picturesque effect. A few hundred yards further the slate rocks appear again, and have here also been quarried. A promontory, with two isolated rocks called Ynys-gwyr and Carreg-gwylan-fach, encloses a small inlet known as Porth-trewen. From hence the view towards the west is extremely fine, and the scenery becomes wilder at every step, far exceeding in grandeur

[t] The question belongs to prophecy rather than to history; and accordingly the arts of divination have not been altogether overlooked in the attempts made to solve it. When the proposal was first made, it was recollected that a certain seer, whose dreams had a way of coming true, had seen a vision of carriages without horses transporting ore from Whitesand Bay. This Pembrokeshire Bacis died before the age of locomotives. Possibly there are some counter-predictions of a Glanis preserved at Fishguard.

any that we have hitherto noticed. The high range which unites Penbery and Carn Llidi cuts off this shore, which is exposed to the keen north-west winds, from the inhabited and cultivated district to the south. The cliffs moreover, which occasionally rise as high as two hundred feet, an unusual elevation in this district, are broken into grand masses of trap rock; while their summits are no longer flat, but thrown into all conceivable shapes, and, on the more prominent points at least, wholly destitute of vegetation; the rest of the ground being covered with gorse and heather. There is a noble precipice called Trwyn-dduallt, immediately at the foot of Penbery Rock, which rises almost sheer from the sea. From hence to Gesial-fawr, a rugged promontory forming the eastern extremity of a ridge of high ground which terminates in St. David's Head, the shore for the distance of two miles is a series of sharp projections and deep indentations, at each turn affording magnificent views in either direction, with occasional prospects of Penbery and the chain of rocks extending to Carn Llidi. At Gesial-fawr the shore turns suddenly to the north, and then again as suddenly to the south-west, continuing in that direction about a mile and a half, till it ends in St. David's Head. This ridge of high ground is in fact produced by a trap dyke running E.N.E. from the Head; and a stratum of slate intervening between this and a parallel dyke, has been worn away at either end by the sea, so as to peninsulate the Head and its adjacent rocks, forming the bays at Gesial-fawr and Porth-melgan. The abrupt faces which this ridge presents to the sea, as they rise in elevation above any we have mentioned, so they far exceed them in sublimity; and the waste ground extending to the top of Carn Llidi, producing scarcely any vegetation but heath, and encumbered with enormous stones, is the very picture of desolation. The cliffs lose something of their elevation, but scarcely anything of their magnificence, as we approach the Head, which is a bluff peninsula of bare rock, rising exactly 100 feet from the sea,[u] and cut off by an ancient stone fortification. A low ridge of rock projects for about fifty yards from the foot of the cliff, which is easily descended; so that a person may at low tide and in calm weather make his way to the water's edge. The view from this point is glorious. In front is Ramsey Island with its twin hills, and the strait which parts it from the mainland. To the right is seen the rocky archipelago known as the Bishop and his Clerks, with a lighthouse stationed on

[u] Admiralty Chart.

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one of the principal islets. On turning back, the precipice rises boldly above the spectator, who tries in vain to trace with his eye the path by which he has descended. The rocks are thrown into huge and fantastic masses of a soft colour, without an atom of vegetation save a long grey lichen which waves perpetually in the wind. To the right the cliffs recede gradually into Porth-melgan, and are finely backed by the bare peak of Carn Llidi. At St. David's Head, and elsewhere on the shore, a fine quartz spar is found in clefts of the rock, crystallized in long prisms, some of which are extremely clear. They are called the "St. David's Diamonds," and when cut and set as brilliants are altogether very effective.

Carn Llidi;

The ascent of Carn Llidi may well be combined with a walk to St. David's Head. It is most easily made at the western extremity; the eastern and southern faces being inconveniently precipitous. The view is uncommonly striking, although the absolute elevation is not very great. The whole plain of Dewisland with all its winding and broken shores is stretched like a map before our eyes, terminated to the north-east by the rugged hills of Pencaer and Strumble Head, beyond which it is said the Caernarvonshire mountains are occasionally seen. The Pencaer hills and the deep blue bay over which they rise form a lovely picture, whether viewed from Carn Llidi, or from the cliffs below it. From hence the entire Preseley range stretches towards the east; and on the south-east the view is bounded by the high ground between Tenby and Pembroke. On the south lies the entire expanse of St. Bride's Bay, with the numerous islands detached from either of its extremities. On the west is St. David's Head and the adjoining cliffs, beyond which a furious current is ordinarily running, even in the calmest weather. The hills near Wexford and Waterford, and even a portion of the coast, may be seen on the north-west when the atmosphere is clear. The view of St. David's itself is not very satisfactory from this point; the best distant views of the place are gained from a rock called Carn-lwyd, nearly midway between this and Penbery, and from Clegyr Foia. A farm house on the southern slope of Carn Llidi takes the name of Porth Mawr from the original appellation of Whitesand Bay. A tradition mentioned by Browne Willis connects it with the sea-shore by means of a subterraneous passage, and is here recorded only as an additional instance of a belief which seems in all places to have worked like a passion in the mind of the vulgar.*

* Browne Willis, p. 64.

The principal, and only inhabited, island near St. David's is that which bears the name of Ramsey, being an exact translation of its Welsh name, Ynys-yr-Hyrddod. It is nearly two miles in length from north to south, and at its greatest breadth about a mile. It contains two hills, the higher of which rises exactly 444 feet from the sea:[w] the rest of the island is tolerably level, and bounded by cliffs on all sides. The breadth of the sound is rather more than half a mile at its narrowest point near Carnarwig Bay; and a ridge of tooth-like rocks called the Bitches[x] projects nearly half way across it, producing a terrific current, which at half-flood boils over and between them like a cataract, with a roar audible in calm weather at a considerable distance. The whole of the Sound is filled with currents and eddies, and has two or three sunken rocks, rendering the navigation extremely dangerous and difficult. The passage across it is most easily made at the turn of the tide: at any other time, a boat is carried considerably out of its course by the current, which runs like a mill-stream. There are few practicable landing-places; the ordinary one is near the Bitches, and close to the farm-house, the sole habitation upon the island. The farm is the property of the Bishop. Nearly opposite the landing-place, on the western side of the island, the ground reaches its highest elevation; and just at this point the cliffs rise to the height of 300 feet or upwards, and in magnificence as well as in height, are far beyond anything on the shores of the mainland. The principal precipice, which is called Allt-felen-fawr, is perfectly perpendicular, and is haunted by myriads of sea-birds. The finest view of it is from the water, but it is scarcely possible to approach it in a boat except at the turn of the tide, and then only in perfectly calm weather. The ordinary course is round the southern end of the island, which here terminates in a towering precipice called Foel-fawr. A narrow passage called Twll-y-Gwyddel[y] separates Foel-fawr from a detached island bearing the name of Ynys-y-Cantwr ("The Chantor's Isle"), and a similar strait divides the latter from Ynys-bery ("Falcon Isle") or Margery Island. The course lies through the last mentioned passage, one so narrow that the oars of a boat are barely clear of the sides, which rise to a considerable height on either hand. On clearing this passage, we are in a little bay called Twll-y-dillyn, enclosed on three sides by the lofty

[w] Admiralty Chart.
[x] In Morris' Charts of Welsh Ports they are marked as the "Bitches and Whelps."
[y] In the Admiralty Chart mis-spelt "Twll-y-gwddel."

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precipices of Ynys-bery, the Chantor's and Ramsey Island. In the midst of it rises an islet of a domical shape named Ynys-gwelltog (Grassy Isle), affording pasture for two sheep; and beside this a solitary spire of rock rises out of the water to a vast height. The whole scene, especially near sunset, is most wonderful; and in general effect and grouping far surpasses anything on the island, although the cliffs themselves are both loftier and more striking as we approach Allt-felen-fawr. The multitude of sea-fowl which nestle among the crags, and flutter about, filling the air with their discordant cries, give the whole place an effect of wildness beyond description.

We have already indicated the existence of a few detached islands at the southern end of Ramsey, with others which lie off the shores of St. Bride's Bay. In connexion with the former must be mentioned the Eilun ("Idol"), which rises near the middle of the southern entrance to the Sound. We must now proceed to the remarkable group lying west of Ramsey, which has borne from an early period the name of the Bishop and his Clerks, doubtless in allusion to the occupants of the neighbouring Cathedral Church.[a] The most northerly of these, which is also one of the largest, is called the North Bishop, (in Welsh, Carreg Uchaf,) and rises 120 feet above the water.[b] Its summit produces a little herbage, affording pasture for about a score of sheep. It is three miles from land, St. David's Head being the nearest point. To the south of this is Carreg Rhoson, which, with a series of dependent islets, is about a mile in length. About a mile further south there is a group of islands, bearing the several names of Daufraich, Llech Uchaf, and Imskrin, better known as the South Bishop. On the rock last mentioned, which rises 144 feet from the water,[b] a lighthouse has been erected within a comparatively recent period. The light revolves in twenty seconds,[c] and is constantly attended by two men. To these, which are always above water, must be added the names of others which are covered at high tide. These are Maen Daufraich, adjoining the island of the same name, Moelyn, Cribog, and Llech-isaf. There are other rocks which appear to have been formerly regarded as belonging to the Bishop and his Clerks, although they lie at a considerable distance from them. These are Gwahan-garreg, lying near the middle of the Sound at its northern entrance, and Gafaeliog, which is nearer to the mainland. These show at all

Bishop and his Clerks;

[a] Drayton, speaking as a poet, derives their name from their "mitred tops."—*Polyolbion*, V.
[b] Admiralty Chart. [b] *Ibid.* [c] *Ibid.*

times; but we may perhaps add Carreg-trai, about midway between the North Bishop and St. David's Head, which is covered at three-quarters'-flood.[d]

The entire length of this archipelago, from the North Bishop to Imskrin, which is the most southerly of the islets, is nearly four miles. A furious

[d] This enumeration, and the orthography of the names are from the Admiralty Chart, which does not altogether agree either with the Ordnance Map, or with the lists given by Browne Willis and Mr. Fenton. Those lists are worth preserving; the former is from a MS. by an unknown author in the time of Queen Elizabeth:—

"North-West of *Ramsey* lie *the Bishop and his Clerks*, six Rocks so call'd, which compass the Island on that side one by one in a Rank. The first that points to the Southward is call'd *Carreg-Escob* [Bishop's Rock]. The second *Carreg-Rosson*. The third *Gwen-Carreg* [White-Rock]. The fourth *Divech*. The fifth *Carreg-Hawloe*. The sixth *Emscar*. This last lies at the North End of the Sound, with divers other young Novices that appear not. It were good for the Mariners to keep aloof from these fellows: for they are very stout, and will not budge a Foot. I think they (I mean *the Bishop and his Clerks*) are able to resist the King of *Spain*'s great Navy, and put her Majesty to no charge at all."—p. 61.

So much for Browne Willis' author, who has clearly inverted the points of the compass. Mr. Fenton quotes from George Owen's MS.:—

"A seaborde of this island, Ramsey rangeth in order, the Bishop and his Clerkes being seaven in number [*sic!* 'This fellow standeth not upon points'] alwaies seen at low water, who are not withoute some small quiristers, who shewe not themselves but at spring tydes and calme seas.

"The cheefest is called of the inhabitants the Bishop's Rock, or the Great Bishop, another Carreg y Rosson, the third Divighe, the fourthe Emskyr, and of the rest I have not learned theire names, if they have any. These rockes are accounted sore daungers to those that seeke Milford coming from the south-west seas, and are to the headland of St. David's, what the Serlinges, commonly cleped Silly, to the Land's end of England; and if the better skill guide not the passengers the proverb may be fulfilled,—

"'Incidit in Scyllam,' &c.

"The Bishop and these his Clerkes preache deadly doctrine to their winter audience, such poor sea-faring men as are forcyd thether by tempest, onelie in one thing they are to be commended, they keepe residence better than the rest of the canons of that see are wont to do."—*Fenton*, p. 126.

The last enumeration, so far as it goes, is very correct; much more so, at all events, than that of the Ordnance Map, No. 39, which gives to Dautraich the name of Imskrin, and to Imskrin, or the South Bishop, the name of Dyvich. The latter is the ordinary pronunciation of Dautraich, which, however, is without doubt the true orthography. Imskrin on the other hand is commonly pronounced Imskern, and is perhaps a corruption of "Ynys-y-garn;" although the form given in Browne Willis rather favours the notion of its being a Norse word. The name of Winegarreg is given to Gwahan-garreg, which however is correctly spelt in No. 40: the latter on the other hand gives to Llech-isaf the name of Mailin, apparently from a confusion with Moelyn, which lies near it. The Gwen-Carreg of Browne Willis is probably Gwahan-garreg, and his Carreg-Hawloe is in all probability an error for Carreg-Gawlog, a corrupt pronunciation of Gafaelog, which is commonly in use.

CHAP. I.
GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

current runs between them, which renders the voyage to, or landing upon, any of them extremely hazardous.

Smalls, &c.

The position of Skokholm, Skomar, and Grasholm, has been already described. About seven miles west of the latter, and seventeen from the mainland, lies a dangerous reef, called the Smalls, principally covered at low water, and extending more than two miles from north-east to south-west, and more than one from north-west to south-east.[e] A lighthouse was completed here by Mr. Whitesides, in the year 1775. It is built upon wooden piles, and stands upon a rock rising a few feet from the water. The light is steady, and tended by three men. A most interesting history of the structure is given by Mr. Fenton.[f] Another reef, about six miles west of the Smalls, bears the name of the "Hats and Barrels."

Natural History and Botany.

We do not intend to present our readers with a complete list of the Fauna and Flora of St. David's and the surrounding country: we shall be content to enumerate some of the less common species of either kingdom which occur in this district. The Seal is frequently found on the coast, especially in the month of August, where they breed in the numerous caves. The Otter haunts the little streams, and is found in the sea; but in the latter case we are uncertain whether it is the ordinary species, or the Sea Otter. As may be expected from the quantity of corn raised, there is considerable plenty of partridges. Great flights of woodcocks land here in October, and may be found in great abundance on Ramsey and near St. David's Head for one or two days, after which they make their way to the sheltered glens of the inland. The Heron is common, and breeds in the rocks, for lack of trees. The Oyster-catcher or Sea-pie (*Hæmatopus ostralegus*) is common on the shore; and the Cornish Chough frequents the cliffs. Ramsey and the more distant islets are haunted by myriads of sea-birds. The common Guillemot (*Uria troile*) here called the Eligug, and the Razor-bill (*Alca torda*) arrive here in May or June, the whole party appearing in a single night. They stop about two months to breed, and then make as sudden a departure. They also appear for a short time in October, probably on their way to a warmer climate. The Guillemot makes no nest, but lays a single egg on the bare rock. The eggs are of a bluish tint, and beautifully variegated. These two species occupy the

[e] Fenton, p. 128.

[f] *Ibid.* pp. 127–131.

same cliffs, where they sit bolt upright in long ranks, but they appear never to mingle together. The Guillemot is called *Mora* in Welsh, the Razor-bill *Poeth-wy*.[g] The Puffin (*Fratercula arctica*) haunts the more distant rocks, and appears less frequently on Ramsey; in Welsh it bears the name of *Pil*.[h] Gulls of all sorts abound here; but a little gull, called the Kittiwake (*Larus tridactylus*) breeds on the islands, and less commonly on the mainland. The young birds have dark bands on the neck and wings, which they afterwards lose. The common Cormorant is extremely common; and the Gannet, or Soland Goose (*Sula Alba*) is occasionally seen. Birds of prey are less abundant than in most parts of Wales; but one important species formerly existed here in great plenty, and probably gave name to Penbery Rock, as well as to Ynys-bery, at the southern end of Ramsey. The Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus*) was the largest and most powerful species used in hawking, and was consequently in high esteem. It was extremely common on the western coast of Pembrokeshire,[i] and is probably not yet extinct. Mr. Fenton saw two specimens on Ramsey Island,[j] and one was wounded and captured in the same place as recently as the year 1847. All noxious reptiles are forbidden to enter the parish, either by St. David himself, or by the same authority by which they are excluded from Ireland.[k]

Of the less common plants, we have the Burnet Rose (*Rosa Spinosissima*) in great abundance, especially near Whitesand Bay, on the common called the Burrows. The Small Bugloss (*Lycopsis arvensis*) is found in some adjoining fields; and beside a rivulet which runs between the Burrows and Carn Llidi, is found the English Galingale, or Sweet Cyperus (*Cyperus longus*).[l] "The *Sison verticillatum*, or Narrow-leaved Carraway, [is] found in meadows and pastures near St. David's."[m] The larger islets of the Bishop and his Clerks are covered with the Sea Tree-Mallow (*Lavatera arborea*). Of ferns, we have found the Hartstongue (*Scolopendrium vulgare*) in the crypts of the Palace, and the Black Maidenhair Spleenwort (*Asplenium adiantum nigrum*) in the ruined walls. The Sea Spleenwort (*Asplenium marinum*) occurs in the caves

[g] Gibson's Camden, p. 640.
[h] *Ibid.*
[i] Giraldus Itin. Camb. I. cxii. Camden, p. 631, Ed. Gibson. Drayton, Polyolbion, V. *note*.
[j] Fenton, p. 121.
[k] We hear, however, that the injunction is occasionally disobeyed.
[l] Smith's British Flora.
[m] Manby, p. 206.

at St. David's Head, and at Pen-y-Foel, near Treginnis. The Laver (*Ulva*) is said to be found on the shore, and used as food; it bears the Welsh name of Llavan. Another edible plant, higher in the dignity of nature than the vegetables last mentioned, is also found upon the coast. The Sea Samphire (*Crithmum maritimum*) grows plentifully upon the trappean rocks, always above high water mark, but within reach of the spray. It occurs here in places so accessible that the task of gathering it by no means deserves the epithet which our great dramatist has made familiar to all; but whether it be that the interest diminishes with the danger, or that there is no market for this kind of produce, as a matter of fact, the Samphire blossoms almost neglected on the cliffs.

CHAPTER II.

PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES.

We advance in an order which appears at once reasonable and consistent with actual chronology, from the physical features and natural productions of the country to the earliest and rudest creations of human intelligence, which occupy a middle station between the works of Nature and those of Art. Raised, as it would seem, by the barbarous aborigines of the country, these uncouth masses of earth and stone bear witness to state of things when humanity, in its outward aspect at least, differed as widely from its present condition, as from that of the inferior creatures. Yet they carry evident marks of persevering labour, as well as of such a degree of constructive ingenuity, as it is hard to reconcile with the utter absence of taste which characterized their builders. Altogether they are most valuable, both as the sole record of one among the earliest phases of human existence, and as faint foreshadowings of the Art, of which we shall presently have to record such noble triumphs.

Rocking Stone (Y Maen Sigl).

We begin with an object which holds a debateable ground between Art and Nature, and which we at present consign to the former solely out of deference to a venerable opinion which is now generally discarded. The Rocking Stone (we give it a title of courtesy which has survived its peculiar property) stands on the western slope of Carn Llidi, at a short distance from the cliff, and from the road leading to St. David's Head. Its height is five feet, its extreme length and breadth each six feet six inches; and it narrows somewhat towards the bottom. A little to the east there is a point of rock which may have acted formerly as the fulcrum. Its displacement is ascribed to the Puritans by E.

CHAP. II. PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES.

Lhuyd;[a] but we fortunately possess an account of its original state in the unknown author quoted by Browne Willis :—

"About a quarter of a mile from hence is the famous Stone which they call here the *Shaking-Stone, Y-maen-sigl.* It is so large, that 20 Yoke of Oxen will not remove it from its Place, and yet it lieth upon a Bank; and notwithstanding its Hugeness, (they say) a Child of eight Years of Age will shake it. I never saw any Child shake it; but I can move it, tho' six Men should stand upon it, with less than the Strength of one of my Hands, so much that a Man that stands upon it, would be afraid of falling."[b]

Meini Hirion:

We mention a few monuments of this class next, as they are so simple and obvious in their nature that they may in some cases be referred to the earliest ages, while in others it is certain that they belong to a period long subsequent to that of the Cromlechs. The Maen-Hir (Long Stone) of Wales, and the Men-Hir or Peul-Ven (Stone Post) of Armorica is sufficiently described by the name it bears in either country. They are very numerous throughout this district, as generally in Wales; but many are of so inconsiderable a size, as to make it doubtful whether they were erected to commemorate a burial, a battle, or a treaty, or whether they were not rather designed for the convenience of cattle afflicted with cutaneous disorders. About half a mile from St. David's, a little to the left of the upper road leading to Fishguard, there is a monument of this kind almost too ponderous to be referred to the last mentioned origin. It is of a flattish form, but set upright on its end; and it is five feet six inches in height, four feet in its greatest breadth, and one foot six inches in thickness. At a short distance from it near the farm-house of Trecenny, there is a much larger specimen of the same class, set in a reclining position: its height is seven feet two inches, and its greatest circumference eleven feet. On Dowrog Common, and near the pool of the same name, there was until lately a large upright stone called Maen Dewi (St. David's Stone), and an adjoining farm still retains the appellation.[c] The stone itself has disappeared within the last two or three years, without leaving a single trace; and (what is perhaps a more important loss) every tradition accounting for the name has vanished also. It is said that Dowrog Common, still a large tract of land, and formerly much larger, was granted to the Church by Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales,[d] for the use of pilgrims making their devotions at St. David's, and that

"Maen Dewi."

[a] Gibson's Camden, p. 638.
[b] Browne Willis, pp. 63, 64.
[c] Manby, p. 76.
[d] Browne Willis, p. 46.

it bore the appellation of Tir-y-pererinion (Pilgrim's land).[e] It is conceivable that this stone may have served as the landmark of some portion of this sacred territory, and that it acquired from this use the name of the Patron Saint. Near Lleithir farm-house and not far from the foot of Carn Llidi there is another magnificent Maen Hir, in height seven feet four inches, and eleven feet seven inches in its largest circumference. A few large stones lie scattered in a field near the lower Fishguard road, at a place called Waun-y-beddau, which we shall presently have occasion to notice; but we are not prepared to say whether they were placed there by the hand of man, or are simply the debris from the adjoining rock of Penbery.

Cromlechs abound in Pembrokeshire to a degree probably exceeding any other part of South Britain. They are principally to be found in the northern portion of the county, in the Preseley, Pencaer, Castlebythe and Trefgarn hills, and westward to St. David's Head, a district in which the intrusive trap formation afforded ample means for their construction, or the comparative want of cultivation has incidentally preserved them. An examination of the Ordnance Map, coloured in accordance with the Geological Survey, will show how remarkably the distribution of these antiquities coincides with the geological formation. It is not our purpose to enter into the grand controversy concerning the use and origin of these objects, a conflict requiring a far wider arena than the limits of a single parish afford. We shall therefore be content with noting such points in those which lie nearest to St. David's, as may supply archæologists with additional materials in confirmation, or, if need be, in refutation, of the theory which (excepting in Wales) they have now generally accepted. It is impossible, however, to overlook the fact that Pembrokeshire, in common with the most western promontories of Britain and France, and the western coast of Ireland, is so peculiarly rich in these monuments. The fact, as far as it goes, is a strong confirmation of the view, grounded upon distinct evidence, that the Cromlechs were erected by a people unacquainted with the use of metals, and consequently confined to the sea coast, and places naturally devoid of wood.[f] Cromlechs:

[e] These lands are said to have been invariably of a triangular form, and to bear the title ascribed to them in still existing documents.—*Coll. Men.* I. p. xcix.

[f] Worsaae, Primeval Antiquities of Denmark, p. 134.

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Coetan Arthur, St. David's Head;

We commence with a Cromlech lying on the high ridge of ground north-east of St. David's Head. It is placed among large masses of rock cropping out above ground, with others of various sizes which lie scattered on the surface. The cap-stone, which lies N.W. *b.* W., is eleven feet nine inches in its greatest length, and nine feet nine inches in its greatest breadth, narrowing rather towards the north. Its thickness does not exceed one foot four inches. Of the supporters, one only remains standing, which carries the eastern angle of the cap-stone. Its height is four feet three inches, its main breadth, taken from north-west to south-east, four feet, and its greatest thickness ten inches. At the northern angle lies a fallen supporter, five feet in height; and two stones, which probably played the same part, lie on the west side, one five feet high, and the other three feet six inches. The south-eastern end has been built up, and several loose stones lie to the east of it. The cap-stone was dismounted as early as the sixteenth century.[g]

Coetan Arthur, Croeswdig;

On the Burrows near the farm of Croeswdig there is a large flat stone about nine feet by six, placed in an inclining position, and now forming part of a sheep-pen. It appears to have been the cap-stone of a Cromlech, and stones which may have supported it are built up into the hedge of the fold. The name (Arthur's Quoit) common to these two Cromlechs is frequently applied to such monuments in Wales.

Llandruidion;

A Cromlech stood on the farm of Llandruidion, a little to the right of the road leading to Haverfordwest, and near the boundary of the parishes of St. David's and Whitchurch; but it has been entirely destroyed within the last few years.[h] We give the farm the name adopted in the Ordnance Map; but Llandrudion is the orthography adopted by Archdeacon Payne, and supported by the popular pronunciation. The other form certainly looks a

Penbery;

little suspicious. Another Cromlech has been destroyed within a very few years near the northern extremity of Penbery Rock. We are unable to give any account of it.

[g] Browne Willis, p. 63.

[h] We cannot give the date of its destruction, but it is remembered by persons living on the spot. Mr. Fenton, writing in 1811, speaks of it as "having existed;" p. 135. Mr. Manby, ten years earlier, used the present tense; p. 87.

The magnificent Cromlech of Longhouse does not lie within the parish of St. David's, but it is of such remarkable size, that we have stepped beyond our proper limits to describe it. It stands on the farm of Longhouse, belonging to the Bishop of St. David's, and about a mile north-east of the village of Trevine. The cap-stone, which is sixteen feet three inches in length, nine feet nine inches in breadth, and of enormous thickness, rests on three out of six upright stones, the highest of which, at the east end, stands five feet four inches. The chamber, which is completely enclosed on three sides, is open toward the north, the cap-stone lying due east and west. The total height of the pile is nine feet three inches, but is greatest at the eastern extremity, from both the height of the supporters and the thickness of the cap-stone increasing in that direction. The lower side of the cap-stone is perfectly flat, while its upper side is extremely uneven. The whole is formed of a very peculiar stone, of which a few large masses lie at tolerably regular intervals in the adjoining fields, suggesting the possibility of the Cromlech having been originally surrounded by a circle. Longhouse;

There are remains of a large Cromlech, apparently a double one, near the desecrated church of St. Elvis. The cap-stone of the more perfect is of immense magnitude, and must be from fourteen to sixteen feet in length. There have also been Cromlechs between this point and Llandruidion at Llanungar[i] and Llanunwas, both in the parish of Whitchurch. St. Elvis; Llanungar; Llanunwas.

There are some inconsiderable monuments of the species called Cairns, or Carneddau, placed on the summits of the higher hills in Ramsey Island.[j] We are not aware that any others are to be found in the parish of St. David's. It is possible that some may have existed between Carn Llidi and St. David's Head.[k] Carneddau.

A tumulus of singular form stands in the valley above Clegyr, between the farms of Harglodd and Trepewit. It is surrounded by a swamp, and is of a remarkable depressed form; so much so that though its length is sixty-four, and its width thirty-five feet, its height is only about four feet.[l] To this we shall presently have occasion to revert. At the point where the road leading from Penarthyr farm to Whitesand Bay enters on the Burrows, there are Tumuli.

[i] Fenton, p. 136. [j] *Ibid.* pp. 121, 122. [k] Manby, p. 71.
[l] The measurements are Archdeacon Payne's; but we can vouch for their accuracy.

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several nodes of ground, the most important of which, if it be artificial, belongs to the class to which the name of Long Barrow has been given.[m] Upon the whole, it seems more probable that these mounds are natural, being merely sand hills overgrown with grass. Interments however have been discovered on the Burrows. A tumulus is marked in the Ordnance Map about a quarter of a mile to the south of Crug-glàs, but we have not been able to examine it.

Waun-y-beddau.

A piece of swampy ground about three miles on the lower road to Fishguard bears the name of Waun-y-beddau, derived, according to a tradition which still lingers on the spot, from a discovery of several graves there at a period now unknown. Some interments have likewise been discovered very near the same spot, on the farm of Penbery.

Camps:

The whole of Pembrokeshire, as indeed is the case with nearly every part of Wales, abounds with early military antiquities, to an extent which attracted the attention of Leland.[n] In parts of the Englishry they bear the name of Raths or Wraiths, by which they are also known in parts of Ireland. It is in the northern district however that they are generally most abundant. They are particularly numerous on the shores of St. Bride's Bay; and it is probable that a complete chain of them may be discovered along the coast. Among the most remarkable are those which consist of a strong entrenchment thrown across the neck of a peninsula, which, from the broken character of the coast, are very numerous in this district.[o] At Dinas, a few miles north of

[m] Manby, p. 74.

[n] "There appere in dyvers Partes of *Pebidiauc* Hilles and Dikes with Bulwarkes of Yerth as Campes of Men of Warre or Closures for Catelle."—*Itin.* V. fol. 28.

[o] This class is common on the coast of Cornwall, where they have received the name of "Cliff-castles," as the inland fortifications occupying the summits of hills are called "Hill-castles." There is an accurate account of several specimens of each class existing in the neighbourhood of Penzance, in a paper by Richard Edmonds, Jun., Esq., printed in the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society's Report for 1849, p. 341. Mr. Fenton (pp. 117, 135) ascribes the Cliff-castles of Pembrokeshire to the Danes, on the ground that the defences are invariably bowed outwards towards the inland, and were therefore raised by invaders against the inhabitants. We demur alike to his major premiss and to his conclusion. Placed, as they are for the most part, on points nearly inaccessible from the sea, they seem less adapted to cover the landing of invaders, than to form an occasional refuge for the natives. Their purpose was identical with that of the Hill-castles, and their position was chosen only to avoid the labour of fortifying the entire circuit, just as in the case of those which are placed on the edge of an inland

Fishguard, a large peninsula is cut off by a vallum of more than a mile in length. We shall confine ourselves to the description of those which occur within the parish of St. David's, with two exceptions, one of which at least, from its position immediately on the border of the parish, and its remarkable site and construction, deserves a place here.

Porth-y-Rhaw has been already mentioned as the point of contact between the eastern boundary of St. David's parish and the shore of St. Bride's Bay. On its eastern side, and separating it from another small bay, there is a peninsula of considerable size joined to the land by a narrow isthmus, about 140 paces across. This isthmus is much below the level of the mainland, and of the peninsula itself, which thus presents a steep face to the land, while it is quite precipitous on every other side. This steep face has been scarped down so as to form a series of terraces, four in number, with a shallow ditch at the bottom of each escarpment. The peninsula is broken into two horns by an inlet, which seems to have been formed, or at all events considerably enlarged, since the construction of the camp, as the rock is of a kind which yields easily to the waves, and the space now enclosed is extremely small. Indeed the greatest part of the defences at present runs quite along the edge of the cliff; and although it is possible that they have been intended in part to mask a dangerous precipice, as was probably the case in the camp which will be described next, it is hardly to be conceived that so great an amount of labour would be expended in producing what in effect would be a mere trap, when the peninsula might have been thoroughly fortified with much less trouble. There are traces of a rampart carried along a projecting part of the peninsula, which is so narrow at present as to leave no space on either side of the rampart: in another place a deep fosse has been cut in the rock, and subsequently filled with soil; the sea has now worked through the rock in which the fosse is cut, so as to give a complete section of it. The entrance is near the eastern extremity, but the road leading to it is broken away. There are also traces of another entrance on the west, with a covered way leading up the steep ascent.[p] Porth-y-Rhaw:

precipice. Compare the account of the Armorican *oppida* in Cæsar, Bell. Gall. III. 12. In fact, there is no reason to believe that the Scandinavians, who made frequent descents upon South Wales, ever established themselves upon its coasts so permanently as to have thrown up fortifications.

[p] Mr. Fenton made some important discoveries here:—"On the summit of the cliffs within the ramparts there is an extensive grassy area, and in the centre of that two large stones, near

CHAP. II. PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES.

Caerfai;

From the names of Caerfai and the adjoining inlet of Caerbwdy, we might suspect that two fortifications formerly existed near this place; but one only remains, being situated on the promontory between them. The head of this promontory, as we have seen, is nearly insulated by a deep channel running from east to west,[1] and the defences not only cut off the isthmus, which is about 120 feet wide, but are continued along the land side of this channel. The principal works consist of those ramparts with their fosses, continued from the western cliff nearly due east for 324 feet. They have a curve towards the land, but at the eastern extremity they turn slightly towards the north, so as to cover the entrance, which lies along the edge of the eastern cliff. At this point the second and outer fosses are united, the ditch which joins them running round the end of the outer rampart; and from the extremity of the inner rampart, a low agger is carried down the steep to the edge of the cliff. The second agger is much lower than the other two, so that the inner rampart commands both the second and third. Beyond these there is an outwork consisting of a strong rampart with a very gradual interior slope, and guarded by a fosse, 194 feet in length; its eastern extremity is nearly opposite that of the principal works, but it terminates to the west considerably short of the cliff. The entire depth of the defences, measured in a direction N.N.E. from the base of the interior slope of the inner rampart to the brink of the fosse guarding the outwork, is 165 feet.

We have seen that a great part of the principal defences merely mask a precipice, as in the camp at Porth-y-Rhaw; and, as in that instance, it may be questioned whether they were originally designed to do so. Upon the whole we are inclined to conclude that they were; as the outwork covers that part of them which defends the isthmus, and that was necessarily the weakest point.

Parc-y-Castell;

A remarkable fort stands on the right bank of the Alan, within a quarter of a mile of St. David's, and close to the Bishop's mill of Dewiston. The

which I dug and found charcoal, and other strong evidence of there having been much fire there. This probably might have been the general hearth for their culinary operations, as near it we got into a bed of limpet-shells . . . In the space between the outer and second vallum there are many little hollows marking where huts have been, and showing, as on the downs of Wiltshire in similar places, much ranker vegetation. On the declivity of the hill facing the creek, and seemingly connected with it, there is the foundation of an old wall, or perhaps a pitched way stretching upwards towards the country."—p. 136.

[1] See above, p. 11.

principal part of the camp is nearly circular, and is defended by a high rampart and fosse, excepting on the south-east, where the steep bank on the edge of which it stands rendered artificial defences unnecessary. Its diameter measured from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and to the crest of the rampart, is 118 feet; and from the crest of the rampart to the edge of the bank, measured at right angles to the former, 146 feet. This rampart, which is constructed of stones and soil, has been built out of the fosse, a part of which seems to have been cut in the rock. The counterscarp and the exterior slope of the rampart are extremely steep, the interior slope much more gradual. The entrance is towards the north-east, at the edge of the bank, which has been scarped down at this point; and in the interior there are faint appearances of *Cyttiau*.[r] The circumference measured along the counterscarp of the fosse is 358 feet, which continued along the brink of the bank for 249 feet, gives a total circumference of 607 feet. On the north-east there is an extensive outwork forming an imperfect parallelogram, the south-western side of which is occupied by the principal camp, and the south-eastern by the bank. The rampart starts from the fosse, and continues in a north-easterly direction for 157 feet; it then turns sharp to the south-east, and runs for 105 feet, leaving a clear space of twenty-two feet between its termination and the edge of the hill. To the south-west of the fort, there are faint traces of another more extensive outwork. A slight agger leaves the fosse near its point of contact with the bank, and proceeds eighty-four feet W.S.W.; then turning at right angles it continues 280 feet N.N.W. with a slight deflection towards the north, until it is cut through by a road, beyond which there are faint traces of it.

The traditionary origin we shall soon have occasion to mention: in the meantime we must say something of its peculiar construction. Not to mention the south-western outwork, which must have been the least important part of

[r] We use a popular name, which has become a technical term among Welsh antiquaries. "Cyttiau," or "Cyttiau 'r Gwyddelod," ("Huts of the Gael,") is the name commonly given in North Wales to those circular traces, generally hollowed out, and often surrounded by the remains of walls, which so frequently occur in the interior of British camps. Mr. Fenton discovered such traces at Porth-y-Rhaw (see above, p. 30, *note*); and we shall have occasion to mention some very perfect specimens when we describe the camp on St. David's Head. Their name may or may not express their true origin; but it is of great importance, as pointing to a prior occupation of the country by a Gaelic race. See "Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd," by one of the authors, p. 35; and compare "Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," p. 83.

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the defences, the whole consists of two portions, a perfect circle of great strength, and an imperfect rectangle. In form and construction they are wholly heterogeneous, and may be suspected to be of different dates. The rectangular part is the only earthwork in the neighbourhood of the form commonly assigned to Roman encampments;[3] and if it should be the work of that people, for which we have at present no further evidence, it follows that the circular camp is of more recent date, as it cuts into the rectangle. This fact must be borne in mind in examining the tradition of Boia, which will be cited in the description of the next camp.[4]

Clegyr Foia;

The rock of Clegyr Foia has been already mentioned.[5] It forms a long parallelogram lying nearly east and west, and with extremely precipitous faces to the north and south: near the north-western angle the rock rises nearly perpendicularly to the height of forty-five feet. It is tolerably accessible at either end: the eastern approach is a narrow grassy slope between two projecting rocks: the western slope is much more open. The principal fort is a rectangular parallelogram, between four projecting points of rock connected by slight ramparts. The south rampart is 264 feet in length; the eastern

[3] The camp on Clegyr Foia cannot be fairly considered an additional instance, as although it is nearly rectangular, it follows the line of the rock throughout.

[4] We have been led to this view by an ingenious paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (vol. III. New Series, p. 25) "On a Fort called Penlan, near St. David's." The author argues as follows:—

"The question is now raised as to which of these camps is the older, for few will probably consider them as of equal antiquity. In answer, it may be remarked, that if the square were removed, the circular enclosure would remain perfect, but the destruction of the circle would leave the square camp open upon one of its sides. To the opinion that the circle is of older formation than its neighbour, the square, and that the formers of the latter took advantage of the side of the circle to constitute one side of their enclosure, there are several objections. *First*,—If the builders of the square attached their defences to the circular fort, they would probably have made an opening from the one into the other; but none such exists. *Secondly*,—The circle quite overlooks the square, which is thus commanded by it. *Thirdly*,—If the circle is of more recent formation, its builders might well consider the existence of the square as of no consequence, for their ditch not being interfered with by it, the strength of their post is in no way weakened by its presence."

The writer seems not to have observed the south-western outwork, which is so slight that it might be taken for traces of an old fence, if it were not cut by a road, apparently of no very recent date.

[5] See above, p. 4.

and western ones 106 and eighty-eight feet respectively. The interior has been hollowed out, artificially as it would seem, especially towards its eastern extremity, and there are faint traces of a rampart crossing it from north to south, and dividing it nearly equally. The defences at the west end are of a rather complicated nature, perhaps to protect the entrance, which seems to have been placed near the south-western angle.[v] These stand at the very brink of the western slope, which, as has been said, is very open. Accordingly there are traces of an outwork about half way down the hill. A considerable portion of the rock lies beyond the principal fort to the east; and at the distance of fifty-eight feet from the eastern rampart, and parallel to it, an agger 117 in length traverses the summit of the rock, in a direction N.W. *b.* N. Between this and the narrow slope at the east end, there is a small plateau at a somewhat lower elevation than the summit. All the works are of stones mixed with soil.

The name of this stronghold refers its origin to Boia, a Gaelic chieftain, who is recorded in the Life of St. David to have inhabited a castle in the immediate neighbourhood of Menevia, and to have persecuted the Saint and his companions in their settlement there. At length the tyrant was defeated and slain by his enemy Leschi, and his castle was destroyed by lightning.[w] Popular tradition ascribes the fort called Parc-y-Castell to St. David himself, who relying on temporal as well as spiritual arms, threw it up to protect his church from the aggressions of Boia. Leland, however, speaks of the "two castles of Boia;"[x] and there can be no doubt that these are the two intended. They lie about a quarter of a mile apart. Elsewhere the same author speaks of "Cairboias Castel," and is clearly describing Parc-y-Castell.[y]

Castell Heinif[z] stands on the shore of Ramsey Sound, about a quarter of a mile south of Porth-stinan. A rocky peninsula is connected with the land by Castell Heinif;

[v] Near this point there is a natural well in the rock, said to ebb and flow with the tide.—*Manby*, p. 75.

[w] Wharton, Anglia Sacra, II. pp. 632, 633.

[x] Leland, quoted by Payne, Coll. Menev. I. p. x.

[y] "Ther remayne Tokins of *Cairboias* Castel standing by *Alen* Ryveret about a Quarter of a Myle lower then S. *David* on the same Ryveret."—*Itin.* V. fol. 28.

[z] Marked in the Ordnance Map "Castell." We have taken this name from Lewis Morris' "Charts of Welsh Ports." An adjoining tenement bears the name of Tre-heinif.

a natural bridge, fifty-two feet in length, the summit of which is somewhat depressed, and too narrow to admit of two persons passing. In front of this, but at a considerable height above it, a strong rampart has been carried, meeting the cliff at each end, and forming a small arc of a circle. This is protected externally by a deep and wide fosse, having a flat bottom, the counterscarp of which does not follow the curve of the rampart, but is carried for 209 feet in a nearly straight line from north-east to south-west, and thence for 190 feet W. *b.* N. There is consequently a considerable space left between the curved rampart and the salient angle of the counterscarp, and to occupy this a species of ravelin has been thrown up in the middle of the fosse at this point. The distance from the crest of the rampart to that of the ravelin is thirty-seven feet, that from the crest of the ravelin to the edge of the counterscarp forty-one feet, giving the fosse at this point an entire width of seventy-eight feet. In its narrowest part the width from the crest of the rampart to the edge of the counterscarp is forty-eight feet, and the width of the rampart, from the crest to the base of the interior slope, thirty-nine feet. Toward the west, where there is a steep grassy declivity towards the sea, the defences are doubled; and the entrance seems to have been at this point. The ramparts consist of stones mixed with soil. On the peninsula there are a few hollows, which look like traces of Cyttiau, one of which is thirty-two feet in diameter. There are also similar traces on the mainland inside the rampart.

Clawdd-y-Milwyr, St. David's Head;

The Head is defended by a strong entrenchment and a rampart of stone, bearing the popular name of Clawdd-y-Milwyr ("The Warriors' Dyke"), which is carried across from cliff to cliff, a distance of about 200 feet, in a direction nearly north and south, but with a slight curve outwards or towards the east. The entire breadth of the entrenchment varies from seventy-five to 100 feet. It consists first of a series of shallow trenches with rows of large stones, which may have formed the foundations of low breast-walls, placed between them. Within them is a small rampart of loose stones; and within this is the great rampart, from thirty-five to forty feet in width, consisting entirely of loose stones, many of which are of considerable size. It was faced externally with regular masonry; and the facing remains in many places on the outer side of the rampart, and on each side of the entrance. This is placed near the southern extremity, and consists of an avenue of large stones thirteen feet wide, crossing

the trenches, and leading to a gateway in the principal rampart six feet six inches in width. In front of it a natural watercourse has been scarped down, to increase the difficulty of approach. In the western part of the enclosed space the rock towers to a considerable height, leaving between it and the rampart a sheltered grassy plain. This is occupied by foundations of Cyttiau[a] placed close together, six of which remain; but there are traces which indicate the existence of others. The largest forms an irregular oval, and is thirty-five feet in length, having its entrance towards the east. Two others are circular, each thirty feet in diameter: one of them has its entrance placed west.[b] Near the Cyttiau there is a small cavern bearing the name of Ogof-y-Geifr ("Goat's Cave").[c] The whole ground between the Head and Carn Llidi is full of old

[a] See above, p. 31, *note*.

[b] To relieve the tediousness of all this castrametation, we quote at length Mr. Manby's description of the antiquities of St. David's Head; in which we know not whether most to admire the ingenious speculations, the bold assertions, or the transcendental mysticism, the mythology, the ethnology, or the chronology, the rhetoric, the logic, the grammar, or the orthography:—

"On the top of the rock, above the Head, are the remains of an old Roman fortification, formed by a barrier of piled stones running across the peninsula of the Head, celebrated for the sequestered and venerable situation of the Druids. At the foot of this rampart is the foundation of a square building of considerable size, not improbable to have been the residence of that fraternity, who lived a collegiate or monastic life; it requiring many of them to perform the sacred rites of their religion, as well as other duties: near it are the remains of seven monuments of antiquity, said to be Druidical temples; five of them are circular, about six yards diameter; another of the same form, though much smaller; and one eliptical [*sic*], ten yards by six.

"Various have been the opinions of their intention; some say they are temples erected for the exercise of their religious functions: they are formed by stones set perpendicularly; as it appears by an article in their religious creed, that it was unlawful to worship under roofs.—Others have supposed them Orsedde or Orsedde-fianira, [?] Druidical judgment-seats; where they heard causes, and pronounced judgment. Their courts of justice were in the open air, seated on a conspicuous eminence, in an unfrequented and retired situation: the sanctity and austerity of their manners induced veneration for, and acquiescence in, their decrees. Nor was their dignity or power in the least abridged, until a regular code of laws was formed by Howel Dha, or the Good: till then their laws consisted of a few oral, traditional precepts, not reduced to writing, but committed to memory. Thus the breast of the Druid was the repository of the laws.—Others have imagined they were for astronomical studies: the situation answering every purpose of a fine observatory: and as they were chiefly devoted to that science, all affairs of the greatest importance were influenced by the revolutions of the great fountains of light; but scrupulously avoided while the moon was in the wane. Others say they were erected to the honour of the Deity, or for receptacles of the dead."—pp. 67–69.

[c] Thus described by Mr. Manby:—

"A little lower than where these are seen, is a deep recess in the rock, called the Goat's Cave:

stone enclosures, which appear to point to an age when this dreary and blasted tract was under cultivation. One of these has the air of a military work; and Mr. Fenton seems to have discovered Cyttiau.[d]

Castell Coch (Porth-trewen);

At Porth-trewen an entrenchment cuts off a small peninsula, the size of which has probably been diminished by the slate quarries.[e] It consists of a rampart and fosse, and a low double agger on the outside. The former stretches from the cliff in a direction N.E. *b.* E. for eighty-four feet to the entrance, where it disappears for a space of twenty-seven feet, and is continued due north to the cliff, a distance of ninety-six feet. The double agger also starts from the cliff and extends 122 feet N.N.E. to the entrance, and from thence a fosse is continued nearly in the same line down a declivity to the cliff.

Pwllcaerog;

Upon the farm of Pwllcaerog there is a strong encampment by the sea side bearing the generic name of Caerau ("The Camps"), the plural form probably denoting its double construction. It is far larger and more complicated than any we have had occasion to describe. The principal fort consists of a strong rampart of stones and soil, with a deep fosse carried in a curve of 192 feet, so as to cut off a projecting portion of the cliff. Within this enclosure there are something like signs of Cyttiau. This is covered by a second rampart consisting of soil only, with a deep fosse corresponding to it. It starts from the cliff a few yards east of the principal fosse, and is carried eighty feet S.W. *b.* S. Then turning W.S.W. it continues, with a slight deflection to the

it seems as if formed by art, about twenty yards by six in width: it is now very low, owing to a vast quantity of soil being left by the sheep, sheltering from the fury of the elements.

"The Druids always had, near their venerable residences, a spot in the most secret situation; where they performed such incantations as related to their secret doctrines, concealing them from all the world but their own society: they usually chose a cave for that purpose, as they observed the most impenetrable secrecy in delivering their opinions, and the greatest caution that they might not be known to others: they made an inviolable rule never to communicate any of their secrets to a woman."—pp. 69, 70.

We commend the closing sentence to the notice of that ancient and venerable Order, and venture to inquire, with the modesty that becomes the uninitiated, whether the present practice of creating female Ovates at the Eisteddfodau, may not be a departure from primitive usage, and a melancholy instance of the prevailing laxity of the nineteenth century.

[d] Fenton, p. 117.

[e] See above, p. 14.

north, 308 feet. At this point there is a high mound,[f] from which the rampart turns to the north, and is carried for ninety-three feet with a considerable outward curve nearly to the point where the principal fosse meets the cliff. A considerable space is enclosed between the second rampart and the principal fosse, particularly within the angle defended by the high mound. At the western termination of the principal and second ramparts there is an inlet of the sea, from the head of which starts a third rampart with a fosse, which after making a considerable sweep to the west, turns eastward, and joins the second fosse at its eastern angle. The length of this defence measured along the crest of the rampart is 210 paces, along the counterscarp of the fosse 240 paces. Between the second and third ramparts there is a considerable space, especially at the western extremity, where it is partly occupied by a ravelin of stones and soil, similar to that at Castell Heinif: this is carried southward from a cleft in the rock to a length of 114 feet, with a considerable curve to the west.

From the eastern angle of the second rampart, where it is met by the third, a rampart of soil with a deep fosse runs E.N.E. for about 150 feet to a small inlet; and from the point where it meets the cliff an extremely strong rampart of stones mixed with soil, guarded by a fosse, is carried for seventy feet south-east, when it turns E. *b.* S. and is carried seventy-two feet to the cliff, cutting off a small peninsula. The entrance of this redoubt stands at the end furthest from the principal fort: that of the fort itself cannot easily be determined. The entire length of the fortification measured from W.S.W. to E.N.E. across both the principal fort with its outworks, and the redoubt, is about 275 paces.

Castell Coch (Longhouse);

We again transgress our proper limits in order to describe a fortification at a short distance from the Longhouse Cromlech. A large peninsula containing two acres of land is united to the land by a narrow isthmus, which is defended by an entrenchment only seventy feet in length. This consists of two ramparts of soil mixed with slates, each having a fosse. Outside these there is a larger fosse cut in the rock. Less than a mile to the east, in Abercastell Bay, to

Ynys-y-Castell.

[f] The object of this mound is not very clear. It has rather the air of a traverse to protect the defenders posted on the unusually long line of the second rampart from the missiles of besiegers stationed opposite to its western extremity; but we are perhaps scarcely justified in attributing such a design to an age when the knowledge of projectiles was so imperfect. It was more probably a place of observation, or possibly designed to command the crest of the third rampart over that of the intervening ravelin.

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which it apparently gives its name, there is a small island called Ynys-y-Castell, and containing some ancient earthworks.[g]

"The Old Church."

On the Burrows there are some remains of uncertain date and use, bearing the popular name of "The Old Church." The name has reference to a legend still current, that it was originally designed to build the Cathedral on this spot, and that the works were actually commenced. The builders, however, as they returned to their labour on each succeeding morning, invariably found their work of the previous day destroyed, and were at length warned by a vision to desist, and bidden to commence operations in a quagmire beside the Alan.[h] They accordingly obeyed the admonition, with greater readiness than they would have done, had they foreseen the misadventures of Peter de Leia's fabric.

The story, although a very common one, is curious, or rather it is curious because it is so common. Like the tale of the subterraneous passage,[i] it seems to have met with ready acceptance everywhere, especially when a church has been built in an unaccountable situation. But it has in this instance a peculiar value, as it has been thought, when taken in connexion with other vague traditions, to point to this place as the situation of the Roman station of Menapia.[j] The tale that a town stood near this spot bearing the name of Mynyw,[k] or Caer-leon[l] (the latter a most significant name), the existence of remains shown to Leland as the ruins of a castle,[m] and the old story of the subterraneous passage, all tend to the same conclusion.

The remains actually existing are neither those of a church nor of a castle, but are by no means destitute of importance. The most remarkable portion stands on the edge of a steep descent, above the principal road leading to Whitesand Bay. The blown sand has here been carried away to the depth of from six to ten feet, and the original surface laid bare, as appears by the slate

[g] Mr. Fenton calls them burial places, pp. 30, 31.

[h] Manby, p. 74. Fenton, p. 116.

[i] See above, p. 16.

[j] Fenton, pp. 115, 116.

[k] "Not far hence, on the Sands, stood old *Menew*."—*Ray's Itineraries*, p. 239.

[l] "There is said to have been a Town formerly near the *Burrows*, call'd *Caer-Leon*, which has its name from old *Caer-Legion*, or *Caer-Len*, in *Monmouthshire*, from whence St. *David* remov'd the See to St. *David's*."—*Browne Willis*, p. 66.

[m] "Sum say that there hath beene a Castel at or about *Port Maur*, but the Tokens be not very evidente."—*Leland's Itinerary*, V. fol. 28.

rock cropping out in two or three places. At this point we have the foundations of a rough wall, of large surface stones, without any signs of tooling, bricks, or cement, forty-eight feet long, and bearing S. *b.* W., the ground sloping gently towards the north. At either end it is lost in the sand, but at a short distance to the north it emerges again, and continues for fifty-two feet in a direction nearly S.S.W., but in a far less perfect condition. Here it is again lost in the sand, which is now covered with turf. About 200 yards further south, there is an extensive hollow on the original surface, and now grown over with grass. Here there is a great number of stones, principally scattered in confusion, but a few of them seem to be placed in lines. Still farther south there are faint traces of an old wall at the bottom of a sandpit.

These remains closely resemble the marks of enclosure still existing on the waste north of St. David's Head;[n] and appear to indicate a time when this large tract was under cultivation, and before it had been overwhelmed by drifts of sand from the bay. They are therefore of value, as serving to account for the disappearance of the Roman station on this spot, supposing it ever to have existed.[o]

Roads.

Two great lines of road are traced through Pembrokeshire. One is the Via Julia, which extended from Aquæ Solis (Bath) to Menapia, probably near St. David's.[p] Mr. Fenton found important traces of this line in the eastern part of the county, and fixed the station "Ad Vigesimum" at Castle Flemish, north of Haverfordwest.[q] The other, called popularly Ffordd Ffleming, "the Flemish way," runs along the ridge of the Preseley hills, and is supposed by Mr. Fenton to have connected Loventium (Llanio, in Cardiganshire) with Menapia.[r] This is extremely probable; but from the description of it which the author gives us,[s] we should rather conceive it to be of British origin. The writer himself calls it a Roman road.[t] It remains to determine whether traces of these or other ancient roads appear in the parish of St. David's.

[n] See above, p. 35.

[o] An antique gold ring was discovered on this spot some years since.

[p] Richard of Cirencester, It. VII. We shall have occasion to discuss the credibility of this evidence in our Chapter on the "General History of the Church and See."

[q] Fenton, pp. 42, 331–335.

[r] *Ibid.* p. 345.

[s] *Ibid.* pp. 484–486.

[t] *Ibid.* 345.

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Ffôs-y-Myneich.

The remarkable remains called Ffôs-y-Myneich have attracted the notice of every antiquary who has dealt with St. David's and its neighbourhood, and have elicited a sufficient variety of opinions with regard to their original destination. For reasons which will presently appear we place them without hesitation in the class of which we are treating; and, strange to say, our opinion is in this instance supported by that of Mr. Manby.[u] The dyke was traced by Archdeacon Payne in the year 1816; and as the influence of time and cultivation have rendered it much less easy to discover it in the present day, we have extracted his description entire.

"Of the ancient work called Ffos y myneich or the Monks' Dyke very little is now known even in its immediate vicinity: and still less of the original purpose for which it was designed. Mr. Fenton gives us the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. Stephen Lewis, afterwards a Canon of this Church, to Mr. Browne Willis, bearing date January 22, 1719, and still extant in the Bodleian Library.

"'This dyke, called still by the inhabitants Foes Gyrick, or Foes y Mynach, that is monks' ditch, extending itself in length about a mile and a half from the Irish channel to the north-west of St. David's to the sea, called Bride's Bay to the south-east of it, below which is a tract or promontory of land about four miles in circumference. I have been the more particular in my account of this ditch, because some of the old people had told me they had heard of a tradition, that the monks or religious persons belonging to St. David's were not permitted to go beyond this boundary; but I rather conjecture that the promontory of land to the south-west of this ditch, in which tract St. David's is included, had some extraordinary privileges of sanctuary.'[v] Thus far Mr. Lewis.

"In the summer of 1816 accompanied by Mr. John Morgan (then a respectable medical practitioner at St. David's) I endeavoured to trace the exact line of this remarkable Dyke, as it was not without much trouble, and various inquiries that we were enabled to ascertain it, and as the attempt may not again be made with equal perseverance and success, I shall trouble my readers with the following narrative of our research.

"The Dyke commences at the head of a lofty and precipitous rock which rises above St. Bride's Bay in a direction nearly opposite to Little Haven. A small creek at the foot of the precipice bears the name of Ogôf y Ffôs, *i. e.*, the Cave of the Dyke. From hence pursuing a N. East direction, it forms the present boundary between the two farms of Trelerwr on the left hand, and Llandrudion on the right. The Farmer of the latter informed me, that some disputes having arisen respecting the boundaries of the two estates,

[u] "Across this township, running south-east and north-west, is an old Roman military road; remaining as a monument of British antiquity, in a great measure covered with earth."—p. 84. The author's ethnology is somewhat confused. Mr. Fenton seems to take the same view, p. 131.

[v] Fenton, pp. 131, 132.

it was mutually agreed between the parties, that the Ffôs y Myneich should from thenceforward be regarded as their joint limit: and a new fence was in consequence built up the center of the Dyke. A blind tradition was also related to me of its having formerly been called 'Ffordd Brenin William'—the 'way of King William'—but wherefore they could not say.

"From Trelerwr we proceeded up a lane, crossing the Haverfordwest road, near Fachelyth Farm, at Rhyd y Cleifion; and passed on between the farm called Arglodd (*ar y glawdd, i. e.* on the Dyke) which is on the right hand, and Trepewit, belonging to the Vicars Choral of St. David's, on the left. Here in the midst of some boggy ground, is a low artificial Tumulus 64 feet in length, and 35 wide, and, though scarcely more than 4 feet high, and surrounded by water, perfectly dry. For what purpose it has been formed I know not; probably it was sepulchral. From hence the Dyke is continued from N. to N. west along a lane which bears the name of Ffos y Myneich, to Dowrog or Dyfrawg Common, where it passes through the west end of a large pool of water. A few years since, Mr. Williams of Hendre Eineon, who has large property adjoining to the moor, in cutting up the soil upon the line of the Dyke, discovered a considerable quantity of Timber Spars, which were laid side by side along the bottom of it, and extended quite across the boggy ground. From hence it pursues nearly a northward direction along a lane leading to the Fishguard road. The Dyke is here lost in the cultivated lands, and not found again till we arrive at a common called Rhos y Gors, where it is plainly to be traced,—and pursuing nearly the same direction of the compass, though occasionally varying, as it is not strait. It is then again lost, in the cultivated lands, but the line must evidently I think have passed between the farms called Lanfyrran and Treleidr (probably Tref-Elydyr) bearing somewhat to the east of north. Upon a common having the conspicuous rock of Carn-pen-birrie, or the Kite's head rock, on the right, it is again very visible; passing along on the very brink of the sea, over a precipitous rock called y Dduallt. Tradition tells us that from a point opposite to this upon the Irish Coast, a similar Dyke may be traced, running inland from the sea. But this I consider as nothing more than an Old Wife's tale. The Dyke in fact does not here stop, but winding round the neck of Penbirrie, is still seen stretching along the summit of the cliffs which overhang the sea. It now bears E.S.E. by East* along the common, till it is again lost in the cultivated land. It is said to be again seen in a farm called Llandigige fach, near the source of the river Alan, but this I greatly doubt; as, after repeated searches, I could never find it. That this extraordinary work is of high antiquity, we cannot doubt,—but the object of it is deeply buried in the womb of time; and in all probability will never be extracted from it. It is possible that Mr. Lewis may be right in his conjecture, though he greatly underrates the extent of the promontorial tract of land, of which he supposes it to

* We are not responsible for the Archdeacon's singular mode of boxing the compass.

be the boundmark. St. Curig, to whose patronage he assigns it, is said in our Martyrologies to have been a foreigner, who arrived in Wales about the 7th century, and was reputed to be the patron of sailors. Churches both in North and South Wales have been dedicated to his memory."[x]

The lapse of nearly forty years has so extensively impaired the Dyke itself, and its hold upon the popular recollections, that the reader will readily pardon this rather lengthy quotation from the *Collectanea Menevensia:* we trust he will also extend his indulgence to the author's strange confusion of metaphors in consigning its object to such a singular sepulchre, accepting his words as an omen that what was "but a sleep and a forgetting" may ultimately prove a "birth." And now we must detail the maieutic process by which we have endeavoured to bring it to light.

In October 1850, we started with Archdeacon Payne's description in our hands from a narrow inlet of St. Bride's Bay, between Caerbwdy and Porth-y-Rhaw, where we found slight traces of a shallow ditch running down to the very edge of the cliff, and nearly obliterated by a hedge. From hence we followed the course of an old stone and sod fence between Trelerwr and Llandruidion. On either side of this there are occasionally faint traces of a dyke now much overgrown with gorse. This fence terminates in a lane running from Trelerwr to Llandruidion, and from its termination another lane proceeds nearly in a line with the fence for about a mile, crossing the roads leading from St. David's to Haverfordwest and Whitchurch respectively, and terminating at Harglodd. There are no traces along the course of this lane, which may be supposed to run on the line of the Dyke: its entire length is upwards of a mile. From its point of intersection with the Whitchurch road, we turned to the left, and followed the course of the latter as far as the ford called Rhyd-y-Cleifion, where it crosses the Clegyr brook, a distance of more than half a mile. On the south of the road, and about 200 yards from the point of intersection, there is an artificial mound running parallel with it for a short distance. Soon afterwards a sort of broad shallow ditch appears on the same side, and continues nearly to the brow of the hill above Rhyd-y-Cleifion, where after crossing the road, it descends the hill in the form of a cutting, seven feet deep, and five feet wide at the bottom, with steep sloping sides. It descends in a gentle curve, and the inclination of the bottom is gradual and uniform. The soil has been

[x] Coll. Men. I. p. xcvi.

thrown up so as to form a high mound on the south, between the Dyke and the present road. The general bearing is N.W. *b.* W.

West of the ford the Whitchurch road proceeds up a deep narrow cutting towards St. David's, but nothing more is seen of the Dyke in this direction. At a short distance, however, to the N.N.E. of Rhyd-y-Cleifion we found the tumulus described by Archdeacon Payne. The lane to which he assigns the name of Ffòs y Myneich diverges from the Whitchurch road immediately to the west of the ford, and proceeds for more than half a mile in a nearly straight line with a slight deflection to the west, crossing the upper Fishguard road, and terminating in Dowrog Common near the farm now called Mynydd Du, but formerly Pen-y-Ffòs ("Dyke End"). From the end of the lane, and in a line with it, a shallow trench about six feet wide, with a small bank thrown up on either side, continues across the common into the west end of Dowrog Pool: and on the other side of the pool a corresponding trench continues in the same line, terminating in a lane near Maen Dewi farm: the lane follows the same direction, terminating in the lower Fishguard road, on the other side of which a fence runs for some distance in the same line. The general bearing of the trench is N. *b.* W. Its foundation is soft, without any signs of pavement. In the valley of the Alan, on some swampy ground belonging to Mynydd Du farm, there is a similar trench about four feet wide at the bottom, with high banks, and bearing north-west with a slight deflection to north. This does not lie in the line of the Dyke as it appears on Dowrog, being a little to the west of it; but nearly in the original line there is a ford of the Alan still in use, from which a track runs alongside of a fence for some distance, with a direction N. *b.* W. Further still on a moor called Waun-llodi there are traces of a shallow winding dyke, with a general bearing N. *b.* E., about six feet wide, and bounded as before by low banks: beyond this the ground has been disturbed, but a fence runs for a considerable distance in the same line.

On the western slope of Penbery, and in part of Tre-leidr farm it appears in the form of a bank of gorse running through some cultivated land, exactly in a straight line from Dowrog Pool. Hence it turns with a gradual sweep towards the east, becoming more distinctly marked as it enters the waste ground. Near this point an old stone enclosure has been built upon its eastern side, along which it runs pretty straight up a rather steep hill, bearing E.N.E. Here the low bank appears only on the left or sea side, the other side has been

scarped down as the hill rises towards Penbery Rock. After the cessation of the stone wall the Dyke continues nearly in the same line, but much overgrown with gorse, as far as the boundary between the farms of Tre-leidr and Penbery, at which point it is not less than eight feet wide, and bears E. *b.* N. Here a fence has been constructed along the middle of the Dyke, the left hand bank of which appears at intervals running parallel with the fence. This winds round Penbery Hill, and descends its eastern slope, bearing finally E.S.E. Then after making a sudden turn to E. *b.* S., in which direction it continues for a short distance, the fence makes an angle and runs north-east down the hill. The Dyke however is continued from the angle of the fosse for some distance bearing E. *b.* S., when it makes a very sharp turn, and disappears in some broken ground. Further east all traces of it have been destroyed by cultivation.

There are marks on the land of Landigige in a field on the east of the house, which may perhaps form part of the Ffôs y Myneich. Here an extremely broad dyke sweeps up a declivity with a general bearing E.S.E., but with a gradual deflection to south. The field was an old meadow, unbroken for many years, and when it was ploughed up several stones were found in the southern bank of the Dyke. The ground has been disturbed in the adjoining fields, although there are slight traces in that which lies on the west. At this place the eastern slope of Penbery bears W.N.W., so that it would appear to be in the line of the Ffôs; the intervening part of which would probably pass over Waun-y-beddau. We made careful searches for it on the land of Landigige-fach, and on a moor before Crug-glàs, but could find no traces of it whatever. We proceed to state the arguments by which we have determined its original use.

A dyke running several miles over hill and dale can only have been intended for a road, a line of defence, or one of demarcation. The second supposition may safely be set aside, as the entrenchment is far too inconsiderable for the purpose, being extremely shallow throughout, with the sole exception of a place where it would be least needed for defence, namely on the declivity of a hill; while its length is too great to be guarded otherwise than by a much larger body of men than were likely to be collected within it. Against the notion of its being a road, its extremely capricious and irregular course may be objected, as well as the fact of its terminating suddenly on the shore of St. Bride's Bay. Finally, the supposition that it was a line of demarcation, for

whatever purpose intended, is also invalidated, though in a less degree, by the irregularity of its course, and still further by the fact that it runs for a considerable distance near the edge of the cliffs, cutting off a slip of land which would not be worth marking off. The latter argument is strengthened by the fact that the Dyke turns inland from Trwyn ddiallt; especially if it reappears at Landigige.

Two considerations are sufficient to determine its design. First, the cutting at Rhyd-y-Cleifion, which would be needless for defence or demarcation, would be absolutely needed to carry a road down a steep bank. And in fact the Dyke winds down the hill with a very easy slope, displaying an amount of engineering skill, from which Pembrokeshire road-makers might take a profitable lesson. To this may be added the sharp turn which it makes on the northern slope of Penbery, evidently intended to ease its course down a steep hill. Again, the timber spars laid down across Dowrog Pool were superfluous in a line of demarcation, and worse than superfluous in a fortification; but were altogether necessary to carry a road across a swamp, which possibly extended further west than at present, and would therefore be less easily avoided. It may be added that the Dyke as it appears entire, namely at Rhyd-y-Cleifion and on Dowrog Common, corresponds to the ordinary form of the British trackways, which are slightly depressed below the surface, with a low bank on each side;[y] while the method adopted in crossing Dowrog Pool was very usual in ancient roads.[z]

The difficulty caused by its irregular course may be solved by considering the Ffôs, not as a single road, but as fragments of a system of roads proceeding in different directions, and probably connected with each other. Let us conceive, by a not very improbable supposition, that St. David's Head, or Whitesand Bay, was the common terminus of two lines of road proceeding to the north-east and east respectively. In the former direction, as we have seen, a great line of road of British origin is traced along the ridge of the Preseley mountains, and bears the popular name of Ffordd Ffleming (Via Flandrica). The Ordnance Map gives it a conjectural course as far west as Penbery; Mr.

[y] See the Archæological Journal, No. 30 (July 1851), p. 143.

[z] A primitive "corduroy road" of this kind is carried across part of the great morass called Cors Fochno, on the left bank of the Dovey. It consists of a series of transverse spars or sleepers, covered by a layer of slate stones. Part of it was used as a footpath until quite recently.

CHAP. II. PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES.

Fenton traced it about Crug-glâs;[a] and it may be safely concluded that the appearances at Landigige-fach are to be referred to it, and (we think) that it continues along the cliff under the name of Ffôs y Myneich.[b] To the east, a Roman road ran in the direction of Caermarthen; and we may perhaps regard the Dyke at Rhyd-y-Cleifion as a portion of it, or rather of an earlier British road which it supplanted.[c] The line from Rhyd-y-Cleifion to Lanveran would be a sort of cross road connecting these great routes; and the dyke which separates Trelerwr and Llandruidion seems to have led from the southern road to the sea side, where its abrupt termination is certainly a difficulty, unless we suppose that it ended in a camp on some part of the cliff subsequently washed away. Long after their purpose was forgotten, people called these fragments by a common name, and, in the neighbourhood of a religious community, naturally attributed them to the "monks."[d] The other name, however, of "King William's Way" seems to prove that its appearance was not altogether inconsistent with the use which we have assigned to it: and it is clear that large portions of it retain their use to the present day, although altered to suit the exigencies of modern times.

Meidr Dywyll, or Meidr-y-Saint.

The present road from Fishguard crosses a common called Waun-fawr and enters St. David's by Nun Street. There is however an earlier route diverging to the right from the common, and descending by a deep and narrow cutting into the valley of the Alan, along the east bank of which it runs: then crossing an ancient bridge it enters the Close by the north gateway, commonly known

[a] Fenton, p. 32.

[b] It would probably cross the lower Fishguard road at or near Waun-y-beddau. See above, p. 28. The discovery of interments there, and on the adjoining lands of Penbery, may bear on the question.

[c] Some of the bye roads immediately to the north of St. David's, look suspiciously like portions of an ancient route leading from Rhyd-y-Cleifion to Whitesand Bay.

[d] Generally speaking, people seem to have great difficulty in conceiving the existence before the Reformation of secular clergy, or of churches (and we may perhaps add houses) otherwise than monastic. Mr. Manby, as might be expected, affords some fine instances: at p. 27, for instance, he tells us that the offerings at St. David's shrine were "taken out by the monks at two iron doors behind." Compare p. 39. We have ourselves heard the ruined manor-house of Haroldston described as "Sir John Perrot's old abbey;" and in a popular treatise on magnetism we are told that "pieces of common iron, which have been for a great length of time in one position, ... acquire considerable polarity," for example, "the old rusty bars of abbey windows;" as if magnetism were a physical consequence of the Rule of St. Benedict!

as Boning's Gate. It bears the name of Meidr Dywyll ("Dark Lane") and was formerly distinguished by that of Meidr-y-Saint ("The Saints' Lane") from a tradition that the clergy of Llanbadarn-fawr, in Cardiganshire, came anciently at stated times with offerings to the Church of St. David's, and that the canons and clerks of the latter church met them in procession at a place called Pont-halog, and conducted them along this Via Sacra.[e] If this tradition has any value, it does not indeed place the Meidr-y-Saint among the relics of Primeval times; but as it apparently connects it with the earlier period of the history of St. David's, when the Church of Llanbadarn occupied a far more important position than it did after the Norman Conquest, the consideration of it here forms an appropriate transition to that of the Ecclesiastical remains of the Middle Ages.

[e] Coll. Men. I. p. xcix.

CHAPTER III.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CATHEDRAL.

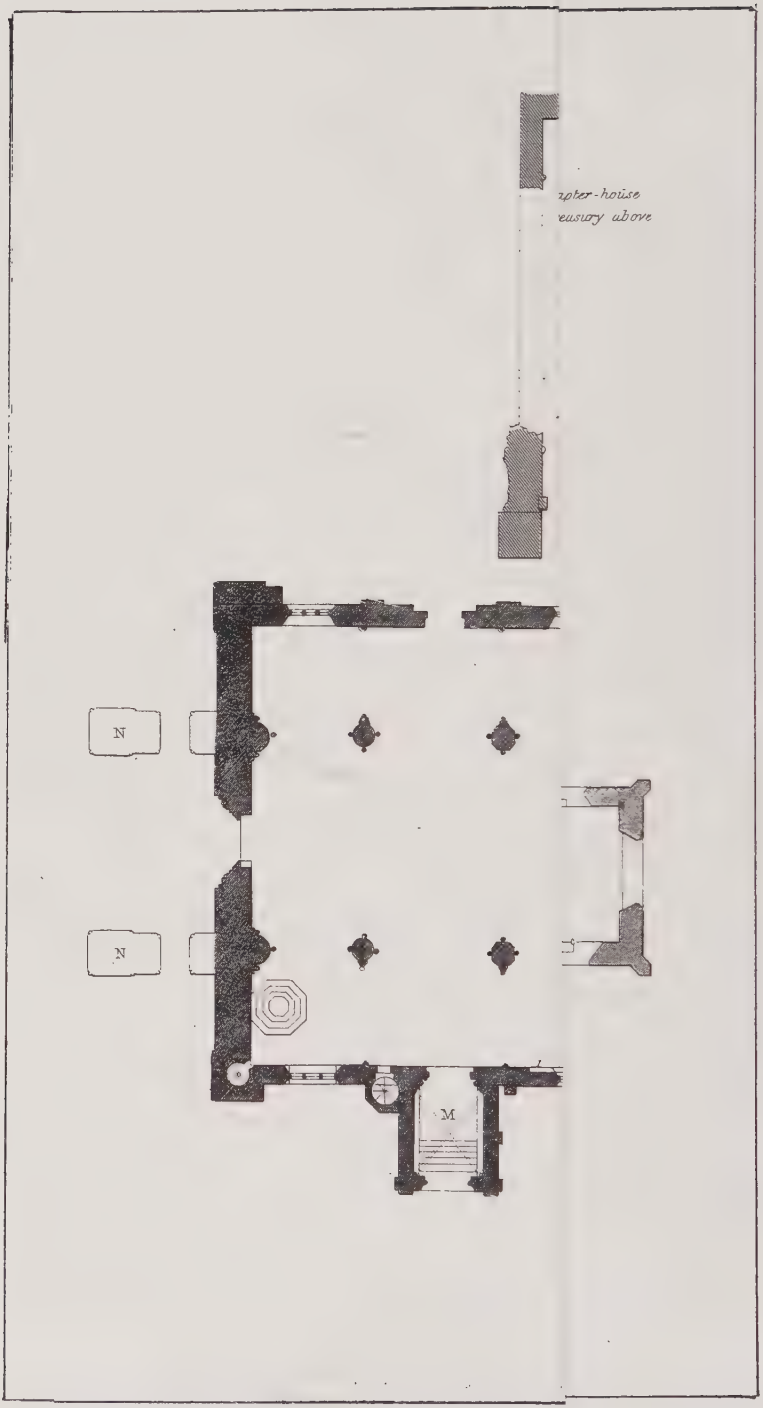
The peculiar position of St. David's Cathedral necessarily hinders it from being at all a prominent object in any distant view. Lying in a deep hollow immediately below the town, from most points of view the body of the church is hardly visible, the upper part of the tower alone indicating its existence. And consequently even the tower itself is not seen to the same distance, nor does it form the same central point in the landscape, as is the case with those churches which possess a greater advantage of position. Yet the situation of this Cathedral can hardly be esteemed a disadvantage. It seems almost essential to the general idea of the place that the church and its surrounding buildings should be hardly discernible until the spectator has approached quite close to them. This circumstance certainly tends to increase the general feeling of wonder which the whole aspect of the place excites. The character of St. David's is altogether unique, unless Llandaff may be allowed to approach it in a very inferior degree. Both agree in being Cathedral Churches whose surrounding cities claim no higher rank than that of mere villages. But Llandaff, a fabric on the whole far less striking than St. David's, and still more deficient in the vast extent of episcopal and collegiate buildings which go so far to produce the general effect of the latter, has nothing of the strangely awful character derived from the position of St. David's. The richer character of the country round, the neighbourhood of a large and busy town, take off much from the wild majesty which is so distinctive of St. David's. Without the utter desolation of the surrounding country, and the entire separation from all traces of man besides its own narrow world, a large portion of the stern charm

of "ancient Menevia" would be completely lost. The effect of Llandaff is a mixture of that of a ruined abbey and that of an ordinary parish church. St. David's, standing erect amid desolation, alike in its fabric and its establishment, decayed but not dead, neglected but never entirely forsaken, still remaining in a corner of the world, with its services uninterrupted in the coldest times, its ecclesiastical establishment comparatively untouched, is, more than any other spot, a link between the present and the past; nowhere has the present so firm and true a hold upon the past. Ruin and desolation speak of what has been, but not ruin and desolation alone: it still lives its old life, however feebly: all is uninterrupted retention, without change or restoration: the light first kindled by its original patriarch may have often shone but feebly in the darkness, may even now only glimmer in the socket, but it still remains one and unextinguished; it has never at any moment required to be rekindled from any new or extraneous source.

Nothing can be more striking than the sudden descent from the mean streets of the decayed village upon the magnificent remains of ecclesiastical splendour which lie below. Passing through the strong gateway of the Close, already mentioned, and hereafter to be more fully described, the spectator at once beholds the whole length of the Cathedral stretched immediately at his feet, backed to the west by the superb ruins of the episcopal palace, and with the bleak and strongly marked hills which impart so much character to the general prospect rising behind the main fabric. This is undoubtedly the most striking view to be obtained on a first approach by daylight. The view from the north-east has its advantages, as it exhibits more varied grouping by taking in the noble ruins of St. Mary's College and the tall pile of the chapter-house and the buildings connected with it; but this aspect does not in the same manner take in the whole church, and it requires the spectator to go round some part of the building to reach it, so that it can never be a first impression. A more extensive view from a higher point in the same direction takes in the Palace and a large portion of the Cathedral; but even this does not give the whole length of the latter; and though it may be a first approach, it is not likely to be so. The other most usual approach, from the south-west, is, what certainly nothing else about St. David's is, decidedly common-place; as it brings into prominence only the least striking and beautiful features of the church, though introducing by far the best opportunity for a general view of the Palace. But the most impressive

time and point from which the Cathedral can be viewed is from the north-west by moonlight; none other so strongly brings out the strange mixture of past and present, the sort of "life-in-death" of the whole scene. Besides the usual character of vast buildings seen under such circumstances, there are several points which render this part of the church peculiarly adapted for inspection at such a time. Architecturally speaking, it is the worst and meanest aspect of the Cathedral itself, although a noble one indeed for the College ruins. The chief features are the modern west front, and the north side of the nave, in itself the poorest portion of the church, and which, at a later period, has had its falling walls supported by vast and uncouth props of masonry. But night throws its pall over the technical deficiencies even of Nash himself, and brings out the real grandeur and solidity of outline which cannot be denied to his otherwise hideous composition; while the effect of vastness and rugged majesty imparted to the dark irregular masses of the supporting buttresses effectually removes any ill-will which they may have incurred by day. To the east the view is shut in—which adds greatly to the effect—by the north transept and some portions of the College buildings, the central tower, now no longer an object either for constructive or æsthetical criticism, rising commandingly above them; while the group is finished to the north by the tall shell of the College Chapel, the lack of tracery not now so keenly felt in its large windows, and its slender tower assuming a dignity which it does not possess by day; the whole, by its wonderful intermixture of ruined with perfect buildings, and the bold and striking character of its outlines, producing an effect which fabrics of far greater architectural magnificence cannot in any degree rival. Salisbury by moonlight is yet more graceful and lovely, Winchester more grand and awful, than either is by day; but they cannot at all compete with the strange and unique charm of St. David's. They are still buildings, palpably and unmistakably the works of man, and suggesting only the ideas naturally raised by the noblest of his productions; but St. David's almost assumes the character of a work of nature; the thoughts of man and his works, even the visions of fallen state and glory, are well nigh lost in the forms of the scene itself, hardly less than in gazing on the wild cliffs from whence its materials were first hewn, and whose spirit they would seem, even when wrought by the hand of man, to have refused utterly to cast away.

But viewing the building more directly as a work of art, it must be con-



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fessed that externally this Cathedral presents no great display of architectural magnificence. This indeed is only the natural and necessary result of its position: exposed as the church constantly is to the blasts of the ocean, external ornament would have been worse than useless; the decoration therefore, which on the outside could only have had the effect of presenting decay in its least pleasing form, is wisely confined to the interior. The church is, in point of size, one of the second order, that is as compared with English buildings, for among existing Welsh churches, it is altogether without a competitor; as Llandaff, the only one which at all approaches it in size, though fully equal to St. David's in the architectural merit of its several parts, is not conceived so strictly on the genuine cathedral type.

Ground-plan.

Perhaps there is no church of the same size which exhibits that type so thoroughly developed in every respect, except one which has no influence on its external appearance. In point of complication of ground-plan it ranks with—perhaps surpasses—Winchester or St. Alban's; and the profusion of chapels and surrounding buildings has the advantage of restoring that varied and picturesque effect which might otherwise have been lost by the absence of any high-pitched roof. Besides the ordinary parts of a cruciform church, a succession of three chapels of inferior height is added to the east end of the choir, and the aisles of the latter are continued along them during a great portion of their extent. To the east face of the north transept is attached a lofty building of three stages, containing the chapter-house and other apartments. This erection, which is, excepting of course the tower, the highest portion of the whole pile, naturally forms the most prominent feature in the eastern view, and imparts much variety and singularity to the outline. And as this same transept, at present at least, is connected with the ruined chapel of St. Mary's College, another extensive range is added to the main fabric, from which it can hardly be considered as architecturally distinct.

In an account of the fabric, in which it is attempted to include both a description of the building and an architectural history, some difficulty will be found in conducting the whole on one uniform plan. The main body of the church will readily allow of what is in itself the most desirable method; first to give a description which may convey an intelligible notion of the building,

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CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

and then to trace out the history of the several changes which it has undergone. But in the eastern chapels, the extraordinary transmutations which they have undergone, and the manner in which work of different dates is mingled up together, will render an accurate observance of this course by no means easy. In many cases the description and the history cannot be separated, the latter being almost necessarily involved in the former; so that the present account must often be a mere sketch, points of detail being reserved for the Architectural History.

West Front.

On proceeding to a more detailed examination of the several portions of this church, we are met at starting by a sad deficiency in what usually forms the most striking and attractive external portion of a cathedral or other great church. The west front is modern, in what would have been called the worst form of modern-antique, had not that of Hereford exhibited an example of a still lower depth. To describe and criticize minutely a structure which combines Romanesque, Decorated, and Perpendicular in one mass of hopeless confusion, can hardly be required of an historian of St. David's; but it is only just to mention that this front has escaped, in appearance at least, the great vice of such erections, flimsiness; even the *quasi* flying buttresses which prop the ends of the nave walls are great solid masses; and the turrets from which they spring, as well as those at the angles of the aisles, are by no means contemptible for the end of the last century. The stone also, already weather-beaten, takes off from the effect of newness, and harmonizes fairly with the general appearance of the church; though ragged ashlar is a less pleasing object than the honest rubble of which the rest of the building is chiefly composed.

Nave and Aisles: Exterior of Aisles;

The nave and aisles, viewed externally, do not present much that calls for minute remark. They form a long, low, regular structure, broken only on the south, which is at once the part best preserved, and withal the original *show side*, by the necessary addition of a porch, and on the north by the vast props which the precarious condition of the fabric has rendered necessary in later times. The general appearance of this portion of the church has certainly suffered much more than the rest from the lowering of the roofs, which has not only caused a deprivation of positive height, but has introduced a real

want of proportion. The aisles, in their present form, are lofty, and the clerestory low; a high roof to the latter is therefore especially necessary in order to preserve the general importance of the nave.

The nave and aisles consist of six bays of unusual width. The aisles are lighted by a series of large three-light windows, interrupted only by the doorways in the second bay from the west. These windows were originally Decorated, and, on the north side at least, of the Intersecting pattern; but the tracery remains untouched in one window only, on the north side. In three others on that side the Decorated tracery, without being entirely removed, has been converted into a strange and most unsightly kind of Perpendicular. In the rest the tracery is modern Decorated; which, in all but the western window on each side, supplants a Perpendicular insertion in the original jambs. The western pair, previously to the late repair, were blocked, with Debased loopholes inserted. The jambs are somewhat richer on the south side than the north. In the south aisle the bays are divided by rather weak buttresses terminating in plain octagonal pinnacles; in the north by flat pilasters, whose breadth diminishes at about half their height, with the exception of the western one, which is of the smaller breadth throughout.

Clerestory:

In the clerestory we are struck by the fact that the north side is faced externally with ashlar, the rest of the external walls being, as we have said, chiefly composed of rubble. This in fact is the case with the south side also, but here the ashlar is concealed by plaster, this being the stormy, as well as the show, side. There is a corbel-table on the south side, which only extends along a small portion at the east end of the north. This difference however may be owing to later alterations of the parapet. Here in the clerestory the bays are not marked, and there being two windows in each bay, they present a series of twelve windows—short, broad, and perfectly plain Romanesque specimens—with a flat pilaster between each. But unfortunately the effect is very much marred by two windows on the north side, and the alternate ones on the south, being completely blocked; those moreover which remain open have a wooden mullion awkwardly thrust in, while the eastern pair on the north side have at an earlier period suffered the insertion of exceedingly poor tracery.

On the north side, as has been already mentioned, the aisle wall has had to

be supported by enormous masses of masonry in the form of vast flying buttresses, which would ordinarily be considered a disfigurement; but here, in connexion with the general ruggedness of the external architecture, and especially from their close proximity to the ruins of St. Mary's College, they serve to add considerably to the strange and imposing effect of magnificent desolation produced by the whole scene.

North Doorway;

The two doorways at present in use are, as was implied above, opposite to each other. The northern one is Norman, one of the very few examples of anything approaching to richness in external work throughout the church; and this exhibits no very great amount of decoration. Its arch is slightly segmental, of two orders with shafts, and an inner one with a large bowtell of hardly any projection, a form which we shall find in several other portions of the building. The mouldings of the arch begin to approximate to Early English, exhibiting specimens of those forms intermediate between the chevron and the tooth ornament of which we shall find so rich a store within. On the label is an ornament representing lilies, and the key-stone is marked by a head.

South Porch and Doorway;

The southern entrance is through a porch of two stories, one of the least attractive features of the church, partly owing to its modern gable and unsightly external staircase, but quite as much to the poverty and coarseness of its original detail. The external doorway and the window over it in the parvise (now occupied as the chapter-house of the Vicars Choral) are Perpendicular of a poor kind. The former has a very slightly segmental arch, and its principal moulding is an enormous shallow cavetto. The window has a depressed arch and unfoliated Intersecting tracery. On the east side there is a small circular aperture with a label, which appears to be of the same date. The original entrance to the parvise was from the interior of the church by a staircase turret, attached to the adjoining buttress, which is now much disfigured by the modern flight of steps.

The inner doorway however, though much defaced, has clearly been, as in so many other cases, one of the most magnificent displays of ornament in the whole building; and we may observe that, contrary to the common rule, the original Norman doorway has given way to a later successor. From its plinths, portions of which still remain, it would appear to have been of unusually small

size, which may possibly account for the change. The present doorway is Decorated, without shafts, but with a superb display of sculptured decoration, besides crockets and the ordinary four-leaved flower. The arch is adorned with a series of sculptures, which are sadly mutilated, but in which we may still trace the familiar representation of the Root of Jesse. The position, however, necessarily involves some singularities, and, as in the better known example of the Dorchester window, the genealogy is by no means easy to follow. The western impost is occupied by what appears to be a figure of Adam, with Eve issuing from his side; the other supports the recumbent figure of Jesse, from whom springs the branch, along which the figures are introduced, somewhat after the manner of the Norman medallions in one of the doorways at Iffley. Some of the figures may be still discerned reading at desks; David with his harp may also be plainly seen, as well as a representation of the Crucifixion. Over the apex is an effigy of the Holy Trinity, with angels on each side bearing censers. The doorway has pinnacles at the sides, but they are cut off by the vaulting of the porch, which is plain quadripartite, springing from corbels, among which we may observe the ornament called the mask, the only example of that form to be found in the Cathedral.

Interior of the Nave;

That the principal internal features of the nave are entirely Romanesque may have been already inferred from the clerestory; but the external appearance of that portion of the building would never suggest either the extreme richness of the internal architecture, or the fact that the style is therein exhibited in its latest form. It would in truth be more accurately called Transitional; for although the employment of the round form in the main constructive arches produces the general impression of the former style, yet the details are very far advanced towards Gothic, much more so indeed than those of many structures in which the pointed arch is extensively employed. In fact there is but very little difference in detail between the Romanesque of the nave and the Transitional work of the choir, and we shall find that the pointed arch is by no means excluded from the former, either as a constructive or a decorative form.

Its general effect is extremely striking, from the remarkable richness of the architecture, and especially from its great multiplicity of parts; characters sufficiently marked to have been conspicuous anywhere, but which are the more strongly forced on the eye from their utter contrast with the rugged and

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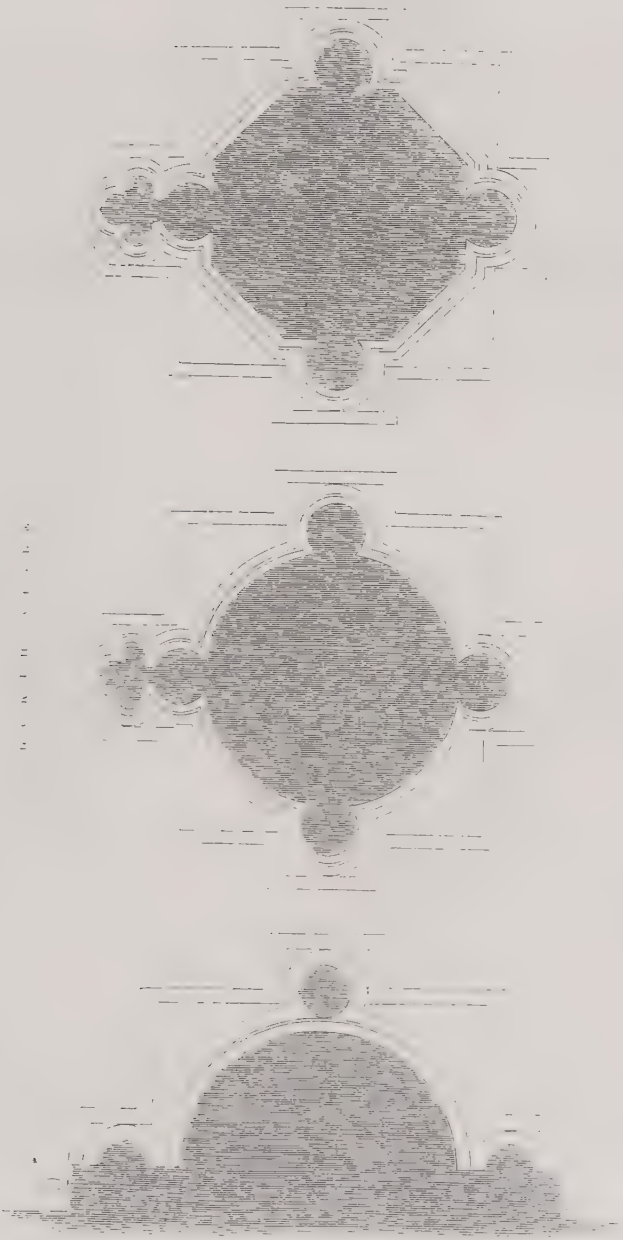
weather-beaten aspect of the church without. Possibly the circumstances which conduced to the lack of external ornament may have led its designers to counterbalance this deficiency by a superabundance of internal decoration. Certain it is that very few structures of the same size equal this Cathedral in the richness and elaborateness of execution lavished upon this portion of this interior. In fact much of the solemnity of a Romanesque nave is lost, an effect which is certainly far better produced by more massive proportions* and a greater extent of unadorned surface.

Piers and Arches;

The deficiency of height which appears without is fully as perceptible in an internal view; several circumstances indeed combine to render it especially conspicuous. The positive breadth is great; the span of the pier-arches is immense; there is an entire absence of any marked vertical lines; and the character of the upper stages, where the whole extent of wall is filled up far more completely than is usual in such cases, conduces to the same result. Notwithstanding the width of the pier-arches, the real bulk of the piers hinders any great effect of lightness, while much of Romanesque solidity is lost. The piers are of no great height, consisting of masses alternately round and octagonal, with shafts attached to the cardinal points, those towards the aisles, which were designed as vaulting shafts, being themselves clustered. The capitals afford an interesting study; the prevalent type is a degenerate, though by no means uncommon, variety of the cushion form, though some are of other kinds, several being floriated; while two of the shafts attached to the first pair of piers from the east are remarkable for the exquisite grace of their foliage, which approaches much nearer to the classical models than is at all usual in this country. A single capital on the north side retains vestiges of a small figure or statue, which has been broken off. It is perhaps to be regretted that so many of the attached shafts, both here and throughout the church, are without a neck-moulding, which detracts much from the completeness of their appearance. The bases are excellent, and decidedly Early English in section, with the characteristic hollow. The plinths exhibit some variety; they are rectangular, adapted to the form of the pier, except that the cluster towards the

* It would perhaps be more accurate to say, a treatment better calculated to bring out the idea of massiveness. The positive bulk of the piers is very considerable, but the immense span of the arches takes off from their effect.

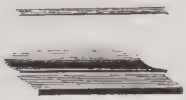


SECTION OF THE PIERS, AND WESTERN RESPOND OF THE [illegible]

a a These shafts do not reach the ground.

STRING UNDER THE TRIFORIUM

CAPITAL OF NAVE PIERS



STRING IN THE SOUTH AISLE

SECTION OF ARCHES OF THE NAVE

MOULDING OF THE NAVE ARCHES

SECTION OF THE NAVE PIERS

aisle rests on a single semi-octagonal member. In a single case on the south side we find the tongue of foliage on a small scale. The arches are very rich, and elaborately moulded on the face towards the nave, in such a manner, and to so great an extent, as to retain as little Romanesque effect as is consistent with the continued use of the round arch and other distinctive features of the style. The outer order has sectional mouldings rapidly advancing towards Early English; the inner has surface mouldings partaking a good deal of a sectional character, and which, together with those in the clerestory, afford a valuable study of the process by which the projecting tooth-moulding of the Early English style was developed out of the surface-carved chevron of its predecessor. The western pair of arches, being narrower than the rest, are kept at the same height by being pointed, though not very well turned. Their responds are of somewhat different character from the piers, the bases being of another section, and without the strongly marked hollow, while the subordinate shafts on the eastern face were detached, and have consequently been destroyed. In estimating the merit of these arcades, it must be remembered that no small portion of their effect is derived from the rich and deep tints of the ashlar employed, brought from the neighbouring quarries of Caerfai. The whole has been rescued from the white or dingy yellow wash with which it was formerly disfigured; part has been carefully scraped, and part washed the colour of the stone. Neither process has been as yet applied to the upper portions of the wall.

Triforium and Clerestory;

The arrangement of the upper portion of the elevation is singular, if not unique. They may be considered as one architectural member, being recessed within a single rear-arch, with its cill coming down to the string above the arcade. This, or something similar, is found in the choir of Southwell and elsewhere, but the manner in which it is effected seems to be peculiar to St. David's. In the other instances, the triforium is, architecturally speaking, entirely lost in the clerestory; at St. David's it still remains a feature of no small importance. We may best regard the whole elevation as divided into two stages, of which the upper is again subdivided into two smaller ones. We have seen that two windows in the clerestory answer to each bay of the arcade; each of these has its own rear-arch, within which, below the opening of the window, is formed the triforium-range, or what occupies its place. The result is

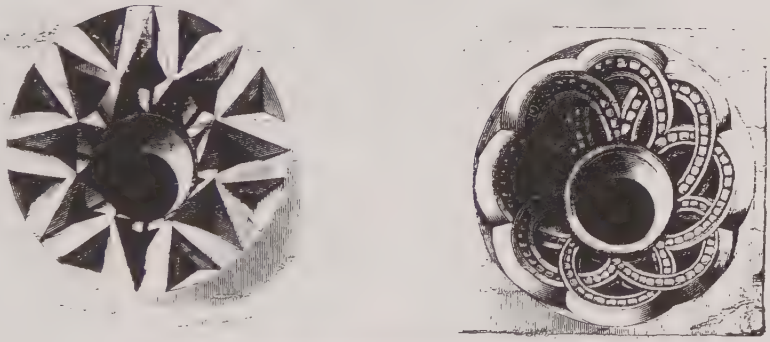
one of great richness, but very confused. The amalgamation of distinct members precludes the usual appearance either of a church with, or of one without, a triforium; besides that the treatment of the triforium arches is by no means pleasing. The passage itself is merely formed in the thickness of the wall over the pier-range, and only opens by an occasional round arch into what, were the aisles vaulted, would be the space between the double roofs, and which, in the ceiled south aisle, really is so, but on the north side, is necessarily a portion of the aisle itself. The round arches just mentioned have a heavy roll, formed of a very small segment, like many others in the church, and a *quasi* capital.

This portion of the nave is almost as richly decorated as the arcades below, and, from the smaller scale of its parts, the ornament is more conspicuous. The principal arches, acting also as the rear-arches of the clerestory windows, are without shafts, but are lavishly enriched with the chevron, and other late Norman decorations. In some the Early English toothing appears in an almost perfectly developed form. The triforium itself consists of two pointed arches, also without shafts, but with the mouldings continued down the jambs, and the edges rounded off, so as to produce a sort of heavy roll. Whether this moulding did or did not also extend, as a kind of string, below the pointed openings, is far from clear. In the spandril between each pair of arches is a small circle, adorned alternately with a star and an interlacing moulding. There seems a certain want of harmony between these rich circles and the comparatively plain arches with which they are so closely connected.

Roof of the Nave;

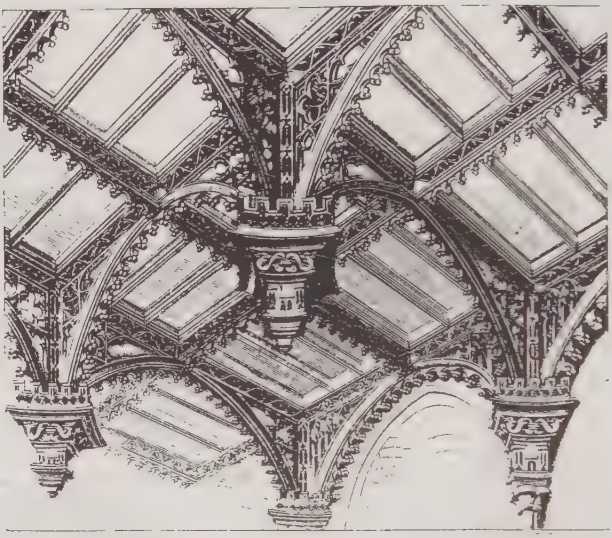
Between the arches comprizing this combined triforium and clerestory still rise the shafts originally designed to support the contemplated vaulting—an early instance of vaulting being even contemplated over so wide a space. The vaulting was evidently designed to be sexpartite; the great width of the arches probably rendering two lateral cells in each bay imperative. The shafts are alternately single and clustered, those of the latter form being placed over the piers, as having to support the transverse arches of the vault. The arches—pointed ones—of the cells may be distinctly traced, but at present the capitals of the shafts only serve to support the still smaller clustered shafts of wood belonging to the gorgeous ceiling of the nave. This is an addition of late Perpendicular, if not Debased date, some of its forms manifesting a clear

ARCHES OF THE TRIFORIUM



ALTERNATE CIRCLES IN THE HEADS OF THE TRIFORIUM ARCHES

ORNAMENTS OF THE NAVE



PORTION OF THE ROOF OF THE NAVE.

ENTRANCE TO THE TRANSEPT,
EAST END OF THE NORTH AISLE OF THE NAVE

tendency to Cinquecento, although they do not actually introduce any details that can be distinctly said to belong to that style, if we may except a peculiar ornament occurring on the pendants, and representing a dragon.

This very singular, if not unique, structure is, in its construction, simply a flat ceiling of timber laid upon the walls; but by some, certainly unjustifiable, violations of the laws of architectural reality, such as are not uncommon even in the stone roofs of that period, it is made to assume a character wholly its own, and which it is very difficult to describe in an intelligible manner. By the employment of vast pendants, which at the sides take the form of immense overlapping capitals to the small shafts already mentioned, the ceiling appears to be supported by a system of segmental arches effecting a threefold longitudinal division of the roof, and crossed by a similar range springing from the walls. Of course these arches in reality support nothing, but are in fact borne up by what appears to rest on them. Notwithstanding this unreality, and the marked inconsistency of this roof with the architecture below, notwithstanding that its general character would have been much more adapted to some magnificent state apartment in a royal palace, still the richness and singularity of such an interminable series of fretted lines renders this on the whole one of the most attractive features of the Cathedral. Both the arches themselves, and the straight lines which divide the principal panels, drip with minute foliations like lace-work in a style of almost Arabian gorgeousness. It is much to be regretted that this ceiling cuts off the top of the western arch of the lantern, which at once spoils the effect of the latter, and gives an unpleasant appearance to the unfinished pendants of the ceiling, when seen from behind, out of the choir. Still this very view of the roof, in which hardly any other part of the nave is visible, is wonderful in the extreme.

Nave Aisles;

The principal features of interest in the interior of the aisles, namely the preparations for vaulting, will be more appropriately considered when we come to the history of the fabric, and are only mentioned here, lest they should appear to have been forgotten. It will be enough for the present to mention that the great width of the bays is nowhere so conspicuously shown as in the enormous span of the untoward arches marked out for vaulting on the north side. In three bays of the north aisle we discern the first precursors of the vast props which appear externally, in the form of bold and slender flying

CHAP. III.
CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

buttresses of Perpendicular date, abutting against the clerestory wall, and just visible without above the roof of the aisle. The greater part of their length is within the church, where they rest on the vaulting-shafts, which were shortened and furnished with new angel capitals to receive them. The north wall of the nave has an almost fearful outward leaning, to counteract which this ingenious expedient was doubtless devised.

The roofing of the aisles is at present very poor. Below the external roof of the south aisle is the skeleton of a flat timber ceiling, of infinitely plainer character than that of the nave; but the panelling either has never been added, or has been destroyed. It has a very extraordinary, and by no means pleasing effect, occasioned by many of the hammer-beams hanging down in front of the windows. Some of their terminations are disguised by shields.

West End, Interior.

The reconstruction of the west front has not so entirely removed all ancient character from that portion of the church within as without. The fact is that the wall was only rebuilt from the level of the cill of the great west window upwards; below that point it merely received an external casing. Hence the difference in thickness most conspicuous within. Consequently the original rear-arch of the western or Bishop's doorway remains, a Norman arch with sectional mouldings and jamb-shafts. The west window also has a rear-arch of the same character, but rich with mouldings similar to those in the arcades and clerestory: this would appear to have been worked up again from its predecessor.

Tower and Lantern: Exterior;

The central tower is naturally one of the most striking features of the Cathedral in an external view; and although it has but little claim to commendation as an architectural design, and may perhaps be considered as in some degree directly opposed to the general tone of the edifice, it is nevertheless one of the parts which most prominently tends to influence the character of the whole. It is a tall yet massive structure of three stages without buttresses; and, as the three belong to as many different dates, and are built with very little endeavour to fuse them into one architectural composition, the whole is in truth little better than a piece of patchwork. The lowest stage rises very little above the original roof-line: it retains a small portion of Norman ashlaring, with angle-shafts at the north-east and south-east, but the rest is of rubble and exhibits no architectural features. An arch of construction in the west wall should

however be noticed, as being, as we shall hereafter see, of importance in the history of the building. Above this stage, divided from it by a string adorned with the ball-flower, is a rather tall Decorated story, with a long two-light window in each face: these are now blocked and otherwise disfigured. It may however be doubted whether this circumstance is not a gain in the general appearance of the tower, for, if these windows, instead of being almost concealed, stood out in their full prominence as the natural belfry windows, the superadded stage would have still more the appearance of a mere excrescence than it has at present. In subordination to the central mullion is a transom, and also a secondary mullion in each light; but as these do not run into the tracery, which is complete without them, they must be concluded to be later insertions, though it is difficult to conceive their object. Each window has a small niche on each side of it, and two diminutive lights, hardly more than loop-holes, above. On the west face the window and niches are comprized beneath a large arch of construction. This stage also has angle-shafts, but naturally much smaller than the Norman ones below. The highest stage of all is Perpendicular, and, though certainly not beautiful, may be remarked as at least an attempt to adapt a certain degree of enrichment to the position and character of the building. An open parapet and pinnacles are at least rendered a less incongruous finish to the steeple of St. David's Cathedral than might have been expected. The chief fault is that the polygonal clustered shafts at the angles—evidently an adaptation from the earlier ones beneath—actually overlap, and consequently render this stage top-heavy, an effect not always avoided to the eye even when the stage is only of the same size as those below. A single flat octagonal shaft runs up the middle of each face, and the windows, mere lancets with depressed heads,[b] are placed close to it on each side. The open parapet is but poor, and the eight pinnacles odd, hexagonal with small shafts at the angles, and finished at present with small domical terminations, some of which have been mutilated; while, from the appearance of one at least of their number, it would seem exceedingly doubtful whether this was their original finish.

In the interior of the tower, the four grand arches which form the lantern Interior.

[b] Somewhat similar Perpendicular windows, but much broader, occur at Oxwich Castle in Gower.

CHAP. III.
CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

are of very noble proportions, and richer than is usual in large churches, but they have been more marred than almost any other equally conspicuous part of the Cathedral by the maltreatment of later times, and are not enhanced in beauty, though greatly so in singularity, by the fact that one, the western, is round, while the rest are pointed.[c] They are however of very much the same general late Norman character, though certain differences may be observed in their capitals and mouldings. The result of this difference of shape is that though the western arch rises from a higher point, its apex is lower than those of the other three, and the string above it is consequently carried along at a lower level than the other, which is later, and is connected with it in the usual manner. The eastern and western arches are, as usual, more richly decorated on their western than their eastern faces. The western arch especially is one of the most magnificent pieces of enrichment in the whole Church. It has been already mentioned as being partially concealed by the ceiling of the nave: till lately it was completely blocked, as its southern fellow still remains. The shafts supporting the inner member of the eastern arch appear to have been mutilated, and probably such is the case; yet they must always have been corbelled off, at however small a height, as the base-moulding is continued along the square face. This is doubtless connected with certain peculiarities of ritual arrangement to be hereafter mentioned. Over each arch is a decorative arcade forming a triforium. Over the western one it consists of eight quite plain pointed arches, resting on Norman shafts. This arcade has always been blocked, smaller arches (now also blocked) having opened in the centre into the passage behind. The way in which the two are combined is very elegant. The string over this arcade is enriched with the billet. Those over the other three arches are decidedly Early English, though they retain a very slight trace of Romanesque character in their capitals. They are worth notice, as presenting a combination of shafts, corbels, and large bowtells furnished with bases like shafts. There is also a passage in the stage above, by the old belfry windows, with an arch on each side opening into it.

How much of this tower should be open to the Church is to a great extent a question of taste, and the position of the roof has doubtless varied at the different periods when the tower itself was raised or altered. At present the arrangement as to this point is eminently unsatisfactory, as the middle or

[c] The cause of this singularity will be explained at length in the Architectural History.

INTERIOR OF THE TOWER.

original belfry-stage is cut in two by a wooden vault rising from stone Perpendicular springers resting on earlier shafts. There is no appearance at any point of the tower to lead to the conclusion that a stone spire was ever designed.

Transepts: Exterior;

The transepts present the appearance of a tolerably uniform original design both within and without, but they have undergone more alterations at once striking the eye than perhaps any other portion of the church. The roofs have lost their high pitch by a curious process, not having the whole fabric lowered, but only the upper part cut off square; or rather, as the original high pitch, though parallel with the commencement of that which has thus been prematurely cut short, is positively lower than it, they must have been entirely reconstructed in this curious form. Meanwhile the gables have been lowered in the ordinary manner, so that they do not agree with the roofs. The fronts, north and south, have undergone many changes, and the original Romanesque design survives only in the flat turrets with angle-shafts which flank both, and in a slight vestige of a string in the south front. And even these turrets have been tampered with and carried on in an octagonal form, and finally these later additions have lost their original finish. Large windows had been inserted in both, that in the north recessed between two broad pilasters within the turrets; this was bad Perpendicular, for which a large Decorated window, chiefly copied from one of those at Sleaford, has been substituted. The great south window must have been Decorated or very early Perpendicular, and had its arch round or very nearly so; it is now blocked, (though it may be traced throughout,) and four Perpendicular windows arranged in two stages have been inserted, besides a segmental-headed opening above them which is now blocked. When the gable of the south front was lowered, it was made to rise from a higher point, and as the apex of the great window rose higher than the masonry of the walls, the horizontal string has been curiously raised to make room for it. In the gables of both transepts are Perpendicular openings, that in the south, pointed, with a large cavetto, appears to have contained tracery, while its northern fellow is much smaller, and square-headed, of a single light. The west end of each transept retains an original pilaster; the north has a blocked Norman doorway and window[d] above it; instead of the latter we have on the south side a Decorated insertion lately renewed.

[d] See below, p. 66.

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CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

The south-east and north-west angles of the transepts have received, like the north aisle, the addition of vast props of masonry, and in the south this seems to have been connected with the addition of an eastern aisle, since modernized, to which we shall have again to recur in our Architectural History.

Interior.

The internal architecture of the transepts is almost entirely Transitional Romanesque, the pointed arch now appearing on a large scale. It is the form exclusively employed in arches of construction, though a few round ones still occur in the decorative members. This, the usual course of the development, differs, as must have been observed, from what we have seen in the nave. These transepts form perhaps the best exhibition in the church of a peculiar form of incipient Gothic, found in this church and several others in South Wales and the West of England. The general resemblance in detail between the Transitional and Early English architecture of St. David's and Llandaff Cathedrals, Cheriton Church in Gower, and Slymbridge in Gloucestershire, has been remarked in another work ;[e] we are now able to add, from an eminent authority,[f] the fact of a similar resemblance in foliage between the South Welsh Cathedrals and the great churches of nearly the same date in Somersetshire. This seems to show that the influence of Bristol and Somersetshire models, which has been often pointed out[g] as having so great an effect upon the architecture of South Wales during the Perpendicular age, had commenced even at this early period. And it is the more remarkable both as being spread over a long space of time, and as being almost entirely confined to detail, affecting buildings which differ widely from each other in the character of their principal constructive features. We shall have, as we proceed, to point out some other instances of this connexion with Somersetshire at a later age, though in the latest period,

[e] Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, p. 28. We may add the small church of Whitchurch, near Bristol.

[f] "I think I mentioned to you that I had noticed a very curious similarity in the character of the Early English foliage at Chepstow Castle, which borders on Decorated, and Llandaff, which is earlyish Lancet. At St. David's I find the *very* same peculiarities in *semi-Norman* work. I have seen them only in two other places, Glastonbury and Wells. I observe some other things which make me think that the best (I mean the more ornamental) work of South Wales was under a Somersetshire influence."—*Letter from G. G. Scott, Esq., to one of the Authors.* Professor Willis, in his late lecture on Wells Cathedral, spoke of the Early English of that church as a local style, differing from that of the rest of England, but did not allude to its connexion with South Wales.

[g] Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. II. New Series, p. 100, &c. Llandaff Cathedral, p. 17.

J. Swan del.

J. H. Le Keux sc.

when it is elsewhere the most common, we find but little trace of it at St. David's. In these transepts the peculiar character of the more slender shafts has freer scope than in the nave and choir, where a more massive pier is employed; we may observe the general omission of the neck-moulding, and the use of the ogee keel, as at Llandaff. The latter is here applied very curiously, being, in several of the members, doubled and set laterally, the effect of which is by no means pleasing, though it may have had some influence on the architecture of a later period.

The transepts are approached from the nave aisles, not as usual, by arches, but by original Norman doorways, with their inner sides to the transepts. They are rather plain, and exhibit in the inner order and in the rear-arch the same shallow bowtell as some other portions of the building; the northern one has the inner arch of a trefoil form, and one of its capitals has carving of a character unusual in this church. At the east end of each transept are three pointed arches, including those which open into the choir aisles. The remainder were designed as recesses for altars, with the exception of the extreme one on the north side, which opened into St. Thomas' Chapel (the present Chapter-house), and that such was its original purpose is shown by its being furnished with mouldings on both sides. These arches form a continuous range, but those leading into the choir aisles are somewhat lower than the rest. The arches themselves are plain, compared with those in the nave and choir, having no ornamental mouldings. There is a considerable diversity in the piers and responds, which may be remarked as somewhat low in proportion to the arches which they support. The neck-moulding is entirely absent, except from a single member of the southernmost arch, where we also find a round abacus. This last feature occurs nowhere else in work of this date, except in the eastern triplet; the octagonal form however is freely used. In the corresponding arch in the north transept we find a continuous bowtell, which has an odd effect. The responds adjoining the lantern piers present another remarkable feature, namely a detached column, of dimensions very unusual for such a position, and rather resembling, in size and proportion, those which often serve as piers in small Norman churches. They rise moreover, in a singular manner, out of masses of masonry, like the set-offs of a buttress.

The western windows of the transepts are far more perfect within than on the outside. In the south transept the rear-arch and shafts of the original

round-headed window are preserved, the pointed insertion, which alone appears outside, not having interfered with them. In the north transept we shall perceive, what we should hardly have guessed externally, though on attentive examination some traces may be recognized even there, namely that the window still remaining was a member of a couplet, the other light being to the north of it. The latter is completely blocked, flush with the surface of the wall, but it is easy to perceive that the northern shaft of its fellow is not a mere jamb-shaft, but a whole shaft partially blocked. The spring of the label also remains, and the whole of the arch can just be traced out. Some corbels remain in this corner of this transept; it is not easy to divine their use, but whatever rested upon them would necessarily have interfered with this window, and may therefore account for its being so completely blocked. Of the large doorway in the north transept no internal traces remain.

Both transepts have at present mean modern roofs of wood, but in the north may be discerned the designs of an intended vault, sexpartite, like that in the nave, rising from small shafts, rising from corbels many of them beautifully floriated; the alternate ones are clustered for the same cause as in the nave, and some are shortened by reason of the windows. The want of an upper range of windows on both sides, produces an effect of bareness both within and without; and the blind passages in the walls might easily have been made in the ordinary manner in the windows.

Choir and Aisles: Exterior;

The choir itself is now the only portion of the building east of the tower retained as part of the church, and, with a small exception, the only part which retains its roof. The aisles of the choir, like the chapels beyond it, are nearly ruinous, being blocked off from the choir, and roofless; their large windows also are completely filled up with masonry. Nevertheless their regular ranges of buttresses and pinnacles, continued uniformly along the choir aisles and eastern chapels, notwithstanding many of the pinnacles have been broken off, still suggests the notion of no inconsiderable architectural display. The arrangement here has a great advantage over the similar one in the nave, on account of the much smaller width of the bays. Externally therefore we discern but little trace of the original choir, except in the tall clerestory, which though no great work of art externally, has a very fine effect,

O. Jewitt. del.

J. H. le Keux. sc.

rising as it does among ruins. Here when the roof was lowered, the walls were considerably raised, and embattled, without disturbing the four plain lancets of the clerestory, so that the large space above them has a singular appearance. The corbel-table marking the original spring of the roof still remains, and the weather-moulding may be traced against the east wall of the tower, with its apex rising somewhat higher than those of the nave and transepts; so that the excess of height in the choir, which is now very conspicuous, must have been designed, in a smaller degree, from the time when the present clerestory was built. It may probably have been occasioned by the rise of the ground towards the east. The design of the east end may be tolerably well made out as it stood before the addition of the eastern chapels. The angles, both of the choir and its aisles, were flanked by square turrets with angle-shafts, similar to those attached to the transepts, but of richer design. Over the triplet which still remains, was an Early English composition, which, from the small traces left, appears to have consisted of a quintuplet of windows, with a niche on each side forming a portion of the same design, and another niche on each side higher up. Through this has been cut a large Perpendicular window of seven lights, subarcuated, with a common complement; this forms the present east window of the clerestory. Portions of the turrets may be discerned at all the angles imbedded in the later walls, but in the south aisle a Decorated buttress with a rich pinnacle has been substituted externally; the northern turret remains, with a plainer pinnacle placed upon it.

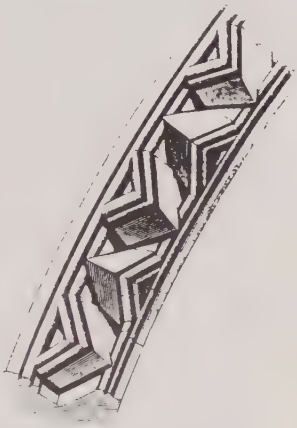
East End;

The internal view of the choir is certainly one of the most attractive features of the church, and though, as we shall see, it has undergone more alterations than might at first sight be imagined, its general effect is decidedly harmonious. There is no lack of ornament, but the simplicity of composition forms a decided contrast to the effect produced by the over-complicated design of the nave, and is indeed a positive relief to the eye after contemplating the latter. There are four bays of extremely simple yet beautiful elevation; the piers, massive columns alternately round and octagonal, with tall clustered shafts attached, support pointed arches with mouldings of much the same character, though not the identical section, with those in the nave. The Transitional vaulting-shafts terminate a little under the string above the arcade, and support much smaller Decorated ones with rich capitals, that is where they have been carved, for

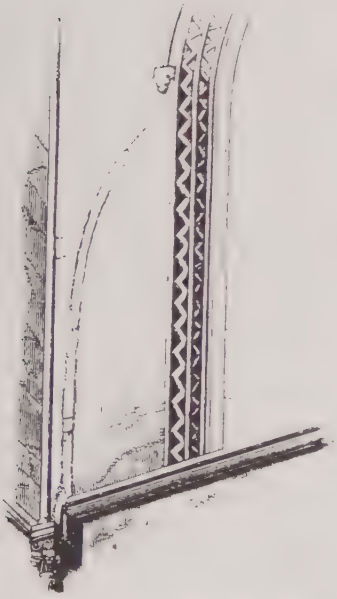
Interior.

some are left in the block. There is no triforium, and the clerestory consists simply of the lancets visible without, widely splayed, and with a light form of the chevron moulding on their jambs. Nothing can well be simpler than this composition, yet it is wonderfully effective; the only important fault is that the piers are decidedly too massive for the mouldings of the arches, so that neither of the ideas which they respectively suggest is well carried out. There is also a degree of awkwardness in the way in which the vaulting-shafts are attached, producing a certain amount of interpenetration; in both these respects the arrangements of the nave are decidedly preferable. The east end is of two stages; the lower one consists of an exceedingly rich triplet, exhibiting Norman and Early English detail more palpably intermingled than any other portion of the church, there being a profusion of rich Romanesque mouldings, while the shafts, which are banded several times, have both the round and the square abacus. But we may remark that the round was evidently that which the architect employed when there was no special reason for the square; as the former occurs in the two central shafts which stand free, the latter only in the responds, where it is the continuation of a string, being just the position where the square form was usually continued latest. The capitals too share the diversity, those under the square abacus being of the cushion form, while those under the round are decidedly Early English. This fine window is now blocked on account of the addition of eastern chapels. Below this is a very rich string or rather band, consisting of a large embattled moulding resting on a series of intersecting semicircular arches. The wall below this is rubble, above it ashlar, which, together with the spandrils of the arches, has been recently scraped, greatly to the improvement of the effect, as bringing out the fine hue of the stone, and revealing some arrangements of stones of different colours. In the upper stage the Early English jambs still remain nearly perfect, and the mouldings of the original composition appear to have been worked up again into the rear-arch of the large Perpendicular window which has usurped its place. There are here some good capitals, mostly pure Early English, though one, an inner one to the window, retains some Romanesque tinge. A passage runs along this window, approached by a staircase in the north-east angle of the choir, and is continued partially along the south side of the clerestory. Yet the string below it has been cut through, apparently without any necessity: it terminates at one end in foliage, at the other in a monstrous figure.

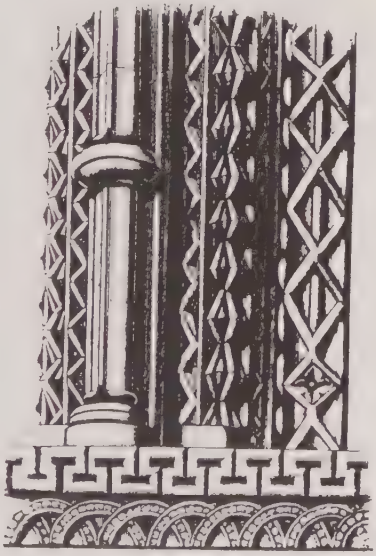
SECTION OF THE PIER ARCHES



MOULDING OF ONE OF THE PIER ARCHES



REMAINS OF VAULTING IN THE CHOIR



JAMB OF THE EAST WINDOW

DETAILS OF THE CHOIR

The aisles of the choir, with the exception of the western portion of each, are at present roofless.[b] The arcades are consequently filled up with masonry, and some mean windows which had been inserted in some of the arches have been lately blocked. Their outer walls present nearly the same appearances as those of the nave, the same vaulting-shafts and inserted windows now blocked and mutilated, but those in the south aisle are Perpendicular, instead of Decorated. The face of the pier towards the aisle is very singular, having a good-sized clustered shaft attached, with its distinct capital, a little lower than that of the pier itself. But in other respects the description of these aisles, like those of the nave, can hardly be separated from the Architectural History.

Chapels East of the Choir:

The remark just made applies still more strongly to this portion, the chief features of which are almost unintelligible without some notice of the extraordinary changes which they have undergone. Yet it would be still more difficult to trace out the history of the latter, without giving some previous description of their present state. These chapels are remarkably extensive and complicated, for a church of the moderate size of St. David's, and no part of the building seems more constantly to have occupied the attention of the Prelates who were successively benefactors to the Cathedral. Their plan may be loosely described as consisting of a central portion continued from the main body of the church, with aisles continued from those of the choir, not extending to the east end. But it must not be supposed that these aisles are divided from the central portion by the same regular and continuous arcades which we have seen in the nave and choir, nor yet that the central portion itself forms one continued architectural range. The whole is one vast mass of patchwork, the result of successive changes following fast upon one another, and exhibiting even less regard than usual to the conceptions and intentions of those who had preceded in the work.

Bishop Vaughan's Chapel;

Immediately to the east of the choir, but stretching a little farther to the north, so as to diminish somewhat from the breadth of the north aisle, is Bishop Vaughan's or the Trinity Chapel. This structure, together with the chapel immediately to the east of it, retains its roofs both internal and external, while the rest of the chapels remain completely uncovered. They may be

[b] We are happy to state that, since this paragraph was written, the north aisle has been roofed in.

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CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

considered as forming one division of the church, being of one height and width, and, in their present form, of one date. They are of the same height with the lower range of the east end of the choir, whose rich triplet they block, while the upper window stands free above them. Bishop Vaughan's Chapel is an extremely fine specimen of late Perpendicular, and that of the best kind, and is the more conspicuous, as being the only portion of the Cathedral of any merit or importance belonging to that style. It exhibits the same chasteness of design and delicacy of execution which distinguishes King's College Chapel, opposed alike to the meagreness of Bath Abbey and the corrupt forms and overdone ornament of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. The arches, one on each side, which divide the chapel from the aisles, command admiration for the justness of their proportions and the purity of their detail, being well moulded, and having shafts with good capitals and bases; the stone screens also with which they are filled up increase the effect of elegant richness. It is much to be regretted that they should remain exposed to the effect of the weather, even comparatively sheltered as they are by the main body of the Cathedral. The roof is of excellent fan tracery, consisting of two bays, running north and south, with a small portion of panelled barrel vaulting at each end. The roof rises from shafts, of which the central ones at each end are corbelled off. The eastern one would have interfered with the altar of the chapel, the western with the doorway which then opened behind the high altar, and whose arch may still be traced. The whole interior of the chapel is lined with ashlar, except where the eastern triplet of the choir is blocked, some traces of which still peep through. The clerestory windows on each side are the least satisfactory part of the structure, on account of the straight lines employed, especially when viewed from the outside, where their peculiar form and proportions are not explained or excused by the line of vaulting, with which they coincide internally.

Ante-Chapel;

The narrow space which continues Bishop Vaughan's Chapel to the east, is separated from the aisles by a light and elegant couplet of Early English arches on each side. Though not dissimilar in general effect, they present several smaller diversities, and we shall see that they are most probably not exactly of the same date. The section of the piers, if we may apply that name to such delicate clusters, is not the same on each side. The latter has also in its capital a delicate form of the nail-head moulding, an ornament which occurs

SOUTH ENTRANCE TO THE ANTE-CHAPEL OF THE LADY CHAPEL

nowhere else in the church. Also the northern arch has internally, that is towards the central space, a round segmental rear-arch over the couplet, while the southern has an arch of construction, going through the wall. Two low segmental arches divide this space from the Lady Chapel to the east, which is not a straight continuation of it, but occupies only its southern portion, leaving a blank wall to the north. This part retains its roof, a rather plain vault of stone, of Perpendicular date, contemporary with which is a poor clerestory window on each side, with a depressed arch, and mere intersecting lines for tracery.

Lady Chapel:

The Lady Chapel has been so much altered and dilapidated that its description can hardly be separated from its Architectural History. The greater part of it is essentially Early Decorated, or rather Transition from Early English to that style, and the strings, shafts, &c. of the original fabric remain in many parts. But completely without, and to a great extent within, it has assumed the character of a Perpendicular building, so far as the dilapidations of later times have allowed it to retain any character at all. Large Perpendicular windows, those in the eastern bay wider than in the west, have been inserted in the walls, and these again have since been completely blocked. A Perpendicular vault has been added, which has since fallen to the ground; and the pier between the chapel and the space to the west of it has been grievously, though, as it would seem, necessarily, disfigured by a huge prop. The chapel is terminated at the east by a flat end, between small semi-hexagonal turrets, ending, as well as the buttresses, in heavy pinnacles, and it has had an open parapet round it similar to that on the tower, but of this finish only very small traces remain.

Chapel Aisles.

The chapel aisles, as they may be called, on each side of the central space, are a continuation of those of the choir, and stretch a little east of the entrance to the Lady Chapel. But as it will be remembered that the latter does not occupy the whole width of the central space, a small part of the north aisle stands free with a void space between it and the Lady Chapel: this produces a most curious effect outside, the more so that the lean-to roof of the aisle has, so far, positively nothing to lean against. Here also the most noticeable features are the mutilated fragments by which we have to trace out the history of the fabric, and which must claim our consideration at a more advanced stage

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of our inquiry. They may generally be described as Early English, with Decorated alterations; but while in the north aisle the changes of that date extended only to the ordinary patchwork of heightening walls, inserting windows, and making preparations for vaulting, in the south the whole southern and eastern walls were completely rebuilt. The result is that, even in its ruinous state, we have the remains of a building of very great beauty, and exhibiting the Decorated style to greater advantage than it appears in any other part of the church. The roof is indeed gone, the windows blocked, the whole disfigured and confused by the great arched props which have been found necessary to support the tottering walls of the central space; still we have the well moulded strings, the delicate octagonal and clustered vaulting-shafts, and, above all, their beautiful flowered capitals. On the north side we obtain through the blocking a slight glimpse of the tracery of the windows. The side windows have evidently Intersecting lines, like the single original one in the nave aisles; but, from the superior elegance of design exhibited in this part of the church, one would rather expect them to be filled up with some pattern of Arch and Foil[i] tracery than to be left in the meagreness of the mere Intersecting form. The east window appears to have been of that elegant form which is intermediate between Reticulated and Flamboyant.[j]

Chapter-House, &c.:

There now only remains to be described the extraordinary building attached to the east face of the north transept. The general effect of this has been already alluded to; and considered as part of the arrangements of the Cathedral, it is fully as unique as is its appearance in an external view. It is continued from the north face of the transept, which it slightly exceeds in point of elevation. The external work is Decorated; the east end is flanked by two flat buttresses of very singular character which are terminated by rich pinnacles, now mutilated. Equally singular is the buttress dividing its two bays on the north side; flat at the bottom, after its first stage its projection becomes angular, and so runs up the whole height of the wall, becoming much smaller in its upper portion; its pinnacle is quite destroyed. At the junction with the transept a staircase is attached in a singular and almost indescribable way to the upper portion of the broad pilaster at the north-east corner of the transept. The windows of this part of the church have been peculiarly unfortunate, every one

[i] Essay on Window Tracery, p. 55.

[j] *Ibid.* pl. 45, fig. 6.

having been either blocked or modernized. The latter has been the case with all in the lowest range, one to the east and two to the north, as well as with the east window of the second stage; but signs of their original form, not very different in size or shape from their degenerate substitutes, may be pretty well traced out;[k] and in that in the second range the internal jamb remains, identical with those of the windows in the south chapel aisle. The east end has a very strange appearance, having three windows over each other, and a niche, not unlike a window, above all; that in the third stage is a blocked spherical triangle. To the north all the windows in the two upper stages are blocked, namely in the second, one of two lights in the eastern bay, and, in the third, a short window of one light cinquefoiled in each bay. The lower part of the wall is of ashlar, the occurrence of which is so rare in the exterior of this church; the upper is of rubble, excepting the buttresses.

St. Thomas' Chapel;

Within, the lower stage, originally St. Thomas' Chapel, is now applied to the threefold, but not inconsistent uses of a Chapter-house, a Library, and a Vestry. It is remarkable as being the only part of the church, except the porch, which possesses, or can have ever possessed, a Decorated vault, though nearly the whole of the aisles and chapels were clearly designed for vaulting at that very period. The vault rises from octagonal shafts with round flowered capitals; the bosses are richly carved; the two principal keystones contain, one a head of our Lord, the other a figure of the Saviour surrounded by angels with censers. There is also an exceedingly rich Early English double piscina, which will be described in its place. This chapel was originally approached from the north transept, through the most northern of the three arches occupying its eastern side; a space being left between its south wall and the north wall of the choir aisle. This is now filled up by a modern external staircase leading to the second stage; the original ascent from the interior of the church having its course thus far diverted, though the upper part still remains. The other staircase, adjoining the transept, is disused. This story was the original Chapter-house, and afterwards the Grammar School, but it

Original Chapter-house;

[k] We have to thank the Messrs. Buckler for a sight of their drawings of St. David's, taken before the last changes in this part were effected. The side windows in St. Thomas' Chapel appear to have been Arch and Foil, of two lights, the east window of three lights, of an anomalous form intermediate between Geometrical and Flowing.

is remarkably plain, and contains nothing worth notice, except a Decorated fire-place in the west wall, which has a small Early English bracket capital, one floriated, the other with the nail-head, worked in on each side, probably to carry lights. This position of a chapter-house in an upper stage of a building would seem to be very rare, if not unique,[1] and even its shape, that of a mere oblong room, though common enough earlier and later, is singular, considering that its erection belongs to the very time when so many beautiful polygonal chapter-houses were built in different parts of the kingdom. The roof at present is a modern coved ceiling, which cuts into the triangular window in the third stage, so that now there is only one stage (besides the space between the inner and outer roofs) above the lower chapel. But this triangular window and the two lancets to the north originally lighted a distinct stage of the building, the upper window of all merely airing the roof. Both the old Chapter-house and the room over it can in this case hardly fail to have had flat ceilings; the latter was used as the Treasury.

Treasury.

Dimensions.

The principal dimensions of the church are as follows:—

	Ft.	In.
Length of Nave	127	4
Breadth of ditto to centre of Arcades	33	0
„ of Aisles to ditto	18	3
Length of Transepts	44	6
Breadth of ditto	27	3
Square of Lantern, Interior	27	0
„ Exterior .....40ft. ×	39	0
Length of Choir	53	6
Breadth of ditto	30	3
„ of North Choir Aisle	15	0
„ of South Choir Aisle	16	0
Total External Length	306	0
Height of Nave within	45	8
„ of Lantern within	67	3
„ of whole Tower externally from level of Porch door	116	0

[1] At Wells the chapter-house stands over what is generally called a crypt. It does not however very well answer that designation, being on a level with the floor of the church. Still however it is not a building of the same importance as this St. Thomas' Chapel, and can hardly be called a distinct stage.

Two kinds of stone were in use for the ashlar and enriched work throughout the fabric. One is a fine sandstone of a rather slaty texture quarried at Caerfai,[m] of a purple or violet colour varying to deep red. Of this the whole of the ashlar, mouldings, and fine work, prior to the Perpendicular period, consists, with a very few exceptions. These exceptions are the eastern arches of the south, and probably of the north, transept, a portion of the east wall of the Presbytery, and the lower arcade of the lantern, which are built of oolite alternately with the purple sandstone; and the southern couplet of the entrance to the Lady Chapel, consisting wholly of oolite, with a few ashlar stones and ornaments of the same material in the Lady Chapel and in the north chapel aisle. Of the oolite, probably brought from Gloucestershire or Somersetshire, and varying considerably in texture, nearly the whole of the enriched Perpendicular work consists: the most remarkable exception is the upper east window of the choir, the tracery of which is wholly of Caerfai stone.

Stone.

We have thus gone through the principal features of this Cathedral, considered directly as a work of architecture in the strictest sense; we must next attend to the minuter points of ecclesiological and antiquarian interest, its ritual arrangements, monumental remains, heraldry, and minor decorations.

[m] See above, p. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND HERALDRY OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Ritual Arrangements.

THE arrangements of this Cathedral deserve especial notice. We shall first describe those of the essential portion of the church, that which is included between the High Altar and western entrance. This central suite, as it may be called, exhibits the ancient threefold division into nave, choir, and presbytery; the separateness of the two latter being marked with unusual distinctness. The ritual and constructive nave completely coincide; and the choir, properly so called, is comprised within the space beneath the lantern, a position ordinarily assigned to it in Norman minsters. At present, however, it encroaches on the eastern limb of the cross sufficiently to admit the insertion of the Bishop's throne between the lantern-arch and the unique parclose which screens off the presbytery.

Nave:

Upon entering the nave we are at once struck with a great peculiarity in the inclination of the floor, which rises from west to east at an angle so considerable that the slope is quite perceptible. The bases of the piers prove this arrangement to be original, although those of the two western piers on each side are placed on a horizontal plane; while those of the western responds are a little higher. This peculiarity is probably due to the builders having followed the natural slope of the ground: but the practical result of it is to give the building an effect of greater length according to a well known law of

Font, &c.;

perspective.[a] In the time of Browne Willis, the western bay of the north aisle

[a] This appears to have been the case at Llanbadarn-fawr, in Cardiganshire, although it is there less obvious, the nave being encumbered with pews.

was railed off for a Consistory Court;[b] and in the corresponding place on the south side stands the font, elevated on three octagonal steps. It consists of an octagonal basin of marble, ornamented with a rude arcade of sixteen pointed arches. The original shaft is destroyed. A stone which formerly stood beside it[c] is now preserved in the north transept: it forms a plain irregularly cylindrical shaft, gradually tapering towards the top: the base is oblong, with the angles chamfered off. The summit is hollowed out to form a basin without a water-drain, and much too small for immersion. The height is two feet six inches; the dimensions of the base one foot nine inches by one foot five inches; the diameter at the top one foot four inches, and that of the hollow basin eleven inches.[d]

Pulpit, &c.;

Until the year 1844, when the south transept was fitted up as a parish church, the parochial service, in Welsh, took place in the nave, a portion of which was then filled with pews. The pulpit was placed against the second pier from the east, on the south side, apparently its original position,[e] and the reading desk stood beside it. One might infer from the necessities of a bi-lingual district that this had been the case from the time of the Reformation; but an entry in the Chapter-book seems to imply that the service was altogether said in the choir, and the sermon preached in the nave, as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.[f] A similar arrangement

[b] Browne Willis, p. 3.

[c] Manby, p. 15. This author says, "Some characters are upon its side; but time, and the improper custom of washing it with lime, have so far obliterated them, as to prevent all possibility of their being decyphered." There are certainly one or two scratches, which an antiquary of unusually fervid imagination might read.

[d] Similar objects are found standing near the fonts of some of the churches in Brittany, and are supposed to be connected with the use of chrism in baptism.

[e] It appears from the following entry in the *Computus* that a pulpit was destroyed and another erected in its place in the year 1571.

"It. to Owen Kerver for making of y^e^ pulpitt, 40s. It. to y^e^ Clerke for taking downe y^e^ old pulpitt, 8d."—*Liber Communis*, i. p. 47.

[f] 1621. July 24.—"Memorandū. That the said Chapter with one consent have given leaue unto Luke Angell and Elizabeth Hargest widow to make a seat or two sev?all seats to their use and uses in the chancel of the church of S^t^ Dd's in some place or places cōvenient so that there be left sufficient Roome to passe to the comunion table and to the Quire. And also that the sayd Luke and Elizabeth Hargest may yf they please sett up a seat or seats for their use in the preaching place in the body of the church, so that neither the broad walke nor those of the ylles be hindered thereby."—*Registrum*, C. p. 94.

lasted until a recent period at Bristol, and continues at Ely to this day. Traces of it existed at St. David's within the last few years: on the last Sunday of each month, an English sermon was preached in the nave at the close of the Welsh morning service and immediately before the choir service: the canons in residence were seated on chairs placed for the occasion on the *dais* or platform immediately in front of the rood screen. This system continued until the Welsh service was removed to the south transept.

Rood-Screen;

The entrance from the nave into the choir is beneath an elaborate and complicated stone Rood-screen, principally the work of Bishop Gower, whose tomb it overshadows. It projects into the nave for about half a bay, the remaining half of the last bay being occupied by a platform raised on three steps, and popularly known as the *dais*.[s] The screen itself is one of those impenetrable masses of masonry originally designed to mark the separation of the clergy, which performed their work so effectually as to have necessitated in later days a diametrically opposite arrangement. From the singular want of uniformity which it exhibits, it might be inferred that it was not wholly of the same date, even though the probability of one side having played the part of a reredos were taken into account. But the inference is corroborated by the marked discrepancy observable in its details. The greater part can be referred to its author by internal evidence: but there exist portions which interfere with the regularity of his design, and may with probability be considered as fragments of an earlier structure, which he left standing or worked up anew.

The whole is divided internally into five compartments of unequal, but nearly corresponding dimensions. The central division forms the entrance to the choir, and those on either side of it contain tombs. The compartment on the extreme right is occupied by the tomb of Gower, and the corresponding one on the north contains the winding staircase leading to the Roodloft. This is entered on the north side, which forms an obtuse angle with the front, by a a doorway having a semi-octagonal head cinquefoiled. This front is of plain ashlar, and, as appears from the doorway, the work of Gower. It contains a small piscina with an ogee head. The north-west angle is flanked by projecting double buttresses, of two stages, with pinnacles, that on the north

[s] Pronounced, and occasionally spelt, *dice*.

side being solid, while the western one is of open work. In the angle between them stands the shaft of a pinnacle. We may conceive that the whole group was intended to run up into some bold and marked termination. These buttresses have a shallow sunk quatrefoil at the set-off, which though common in Decorated work, is particularly characteristic of Gower's.

The staircase and the adjoining compartment are masked in front by a wall of plain ashlar, which has apparently formed a reredos, surmounted by a triplet with detached cylindrical shafts, their bases and capitals projecting diagonally. They rest upon a cornice adorned with a pellet moulding, and one of a wave section, commonly characteristic of Gower's work, and bearing corbel-heads with the armour of the thirteenth century, nearly resembling two which occur in the Lady Chapel, the work of Gower's predecessor. The capitals are very singular. Those which occupy the extreme right and left are formed by grotesque heads, so arranged that the teeth form a sort of nail-head moulding round the shaft. They are all surmounted by a decorative battlement similar to that which ornaments the southern portion of the screen.

At present these shafts carry a plain arcade, a mere translation into stone of some modern wood-work which preceded it. It is utterly impossible to suppose that it bears the least resemblance to the original design, and perhaps it would be equally impossible to reconstruct it out of the existing remains.[h] The supporting cornice terminates rather abruptly at each end, while the triplet cuts off the cornice of Gower's work, with equal abruptness. The triplet is blocked in the rear with rubble, and the more southerly of the compartments which it masks, is enclosed on three sides by rubble walls, facts not altogether without significance, as the two southern compartments of the screen, the unmixed and undoubted work of Gower, are closed on the east with solid walls of ashlar. The portion which corresponds externally to the central and two southern compartments, presents much more uniform features. In front it has arched openings between pinnacles. One of these forms the entrance to the choir; the arch is enriched with the four-leaved flower, and the jamb with the vine-leaf, which in the hands of Gower invariably betrays his predilection for the former ornament. The vine-leaf moulding is here placed between engaged octagonal

[h] It appears from Messrs. Buckler's drawings, which we had not seen when the text was written, that the wooden arcade has been added within the present century, without a shadow of authority.

shafts, and is divided from the arch by a *quasi* capital connecting those of the shafts. The other corresponds to the southern internal compartment; it is cinquefoiled with open cusps and trefoiled foliations, adorned with vine-leaf moulding, and surmounted by a crocketted ogee canopy. Another opening precisely similar, but of wider span, pierces the south front of the screen. The second compartment from the south is represented externally by a low aperture, square-headed and filled with ogee tracery. Above this is a niche with a projecting canopy, resting on a richly floriated bracket, and connected with the flanking pinnacles of the adjoining openings by decorative flying buttresses.

The whole of this portion is surmounted by a cornice, consisting of a series of squares, each divided by diagonal lines into four trefoiled triangles, terminated by a decorative battlement, and resting on a projecting member adorned with the four-leaved flower. The central arch and the adjoining niche cut into the cornice somewhat awkwardly; and a compensation for this rude interruption is attempted by making the finials of the canopies over the other arches, and of the decorative buttresses, take their place in the projecting member of the cornice, with the four-leaved flower. The device is more ingenious than pleasing; anything like double use for architectural detail is always so; and the effect is peculiarly unpleasant where the two uses are so manifestly contradictory as in the present instance. From the position which they occupy, these finials have very much the effect of corbels. Now the idea of a corbel is to carry a superstructure, whereas the idea of a finial is to grow out of that which it surmounts. We conceive of the one as mechanically constrained and weighed down, of the other as essentially free and instinct with life. The same arrangement occurs in the sedilia of the Lady Chapel, also the work of Gower. There, however, the anomaly is perhaps less unpleasant as being more palpable. A small string runs under the cornice, forming where it is necessary a neck-moulding to the finials. In the screen the string is wholly wanting, which at once gives an unfinished look to the cornice, and makes the finials appear to stand free, while in fact they do not.

The compartment containing the tomb of Gower communicates with the adjoining one by a fenestriform aperture of three lights with Convergent tracery in the head. The central compartment opens into those on each side by arches similar to the external openings of Gower's tomb. That on the northern side is however distinguished by the absence of the small heads which decorate the

principal cusps of the other arches, and by a more important difference which will be noticed in its place. The east end of the southern compartment has foliations precisely similar to those of its southern and western arches placed against the blank wall. The roof of the entrance to the choir consists of skeleton vaulting,[i] springing from brackets, which at the north-west and south-west angles take the ambiguous form of caps to vaulting shafts of a very peculiar section. Those of the three compartments containing tombs are plain quadripartite vaults. In that which adjoins the choir entrance on the north, the vaulting springs from brackets differing in form from those which support the others, and apparently earlier. The entrance into the same compartment has round shafts with plain caps adorned with pellet moulding; all the other shafts in and about the screen, save those of the triplet already described, being engaged, of octagonal section, with floriated capitals. It will be remembered that this compartment is enclosed with rubble walls, and masked outwardly by the apparently early triplet. These facts appear to point to the existence of a screen a little earlier than that of Gower, portions of which he embodied in his structure.

The whole is terminated by a projecting cornice of oak, which was substituted in 1847 for an ugly balustrade. Of this, however, a portion is of earlier date, and consists of a series of small arches filled with late Perpendicular tracery, and having between them the springers of vaulting either cut away or never finished. It might be supposed that we had here a fragment of an original cornice, were there not both external and internal evidence of the contrary. For in the *Computus* of the year 1571, we have an entry of 30s. paid for taking down the Roodloft.[j] This can be nothing else but the projection by which the Rood-screen was generally surmounted. Now it seems improbable that they would take down the loft and leave this portion standing, and the springers of the vaulting are so regular as to seem unfinished rather than fragmentary. But the internal evidence is more complete. The vaulting originally sprang from small shafts with octagonal caps, embattled. These shafts have all been cut away at the same length and the same angle, but enough remains to show

[i] Similar vaulting occurs in a passage leading out of the south choir aisle of Bristol Cathedral, a fact which may be regarded as an additional proof of Bristol influence in South Wales.—See above, p. 64, *note*.

[j] "Imprimis to Ellis ap Ho[ll] for taking downe y[e] Roude Loft, 30[s]."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 47.

that the vaulting could not have been originally designed for this place. It has very much the air of a series of canopies over stalls, and we shall have occasion to recur to it, when we come to treat of the stalls in the choir.

One step leads from the *dais* to the passage beneath the Roodloft, and another leads thence to a continuation of that passage through a solid wall by which the Rood-screen is backed. From this point three more steps bring us to the level of the choir. The solid wall, which is here of great thickness, is carried over the passage by a rude segmental arch, in which are to be seen either the rudiments or the vestiges of vaulting, similar to that of the adjoining compartment.

Alterations of the Rood-screen.

To attempt, from such scanty data as we possess, to chronicle the changes which the Rood-screen has undergone would be a hopeless and perhaps an unprofitable task. Yet we are not left wholly without elements for determining its state at various periods. The bases of the eastern responds are considerably elevated above those of the nave piers, proving the position of De Leia's screen, and the existence of a platform before it. The respond on the northern side has a shaft carrying the upper order of the arch, with a rather elaborate capital; and inside the lantern arch there is a nook-shaft apparently carried from the ground, and diverging at no great height into something like chevron moulding.[k] Both of these are now built up, but their existence seems to imply that the original screen, of whatever kind it was, had no projection into the nave or choir.

We have seen that the existing structure bears marks of having been erected at two dates separated by no great interval of time.[l] Its present one-sided appearance makes it probable that both sides of the entrance were originally adorned with an arcade similar to the remaining triplet on the northern side. It is also probable, from the practice prevailing in other churches, that both sides were occupied by an altar, and that Gower left the triplet as a reredos for one altar, and removed the other to the end of the south aisle, where there are marks still remaining. This will perhaps give us a clue to the meaning of the

[k] The centre light of the eastern triplet of Vanner Abbey, in Merionethshire, has a bowtell in either side forming a chevron about half-way up.

[l] It appears from Leland that Bishop Richard de Carew, who died in 1280, was buried "prope altare Crucifixi."—*Collectanea*, v. II. p. 322.

assertion that Bishop Gower was buried "in the chapel of St. John, which he built for his sepulture, under the Roodloft."[m]

The *Computus* of the year 1492 records another alteration, necessitated by the insecurity of the western lantern arch.[n] That arch was now built up, either partially or entirely. That this is the meaning of the entry there can be no doubt when we consider that the sum of £5 was expended in materials and workmanship, and that we have no record of it subsequent to this date. The latter argument, it is true, is not conclusive, as the accounts are not continued in an uninterrupted series. At all events the existence of this wall is implied in an entry of the year 1571,[o] and this is further confirmed by the fact that it was very lately possible to trace beneath the whitewash portions of the Decalogue painted in black letter. And the abrupt termination of the nave roof eastwards is not without significance: it was probably constructed at the very commencement of the sixteenth century, and its unfinished state on the side of the choir seems to imply that the arch was already built up. It would perhaps have been unnecessary to have recourse to argument were it not for an assertion of Browne Willis[p] that the arch had been recently built up when he wrote. Contemporaneous evidence is in general unanswerable; but we must remember that Browne Willis, whatever advantage he may have had in point of time, was prevented by conditions of space from being a very trustworthy witness.

It may however be questioned whether the work was completed at once.[q] About ten feet above the top of the Roodloft there were formerly signs of a rude string, above which the wall was somewhat thinner than below. This might perhaps be taken as evidence that the whole was of two dates. The

[m] Browne Willis, p. 107. "Henricus Gower in capella S. Joannis."—*Leland, Coll.* v. II. p. 322.

[n] "Et sol pro factura muri in solario S^te^ Crucis calce & lapid' & aliis nĕriis ad idem opus pertinent ut patet per billam inde examinat, 100^s^."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 24.

[o] "It. to y^e^ said Ellis for casting of y^e^ roud loft & 2 Iles, 10^s^." If this is not the wall in question, it is difficult to see what it is.

[p] "The Steeple stands upon four Massy Pillars, the Arches to the *West, North,* [sic] and the *South,* have been filled up with solid Stone-Work within these few Years, except the Entrance of the Choir, and Place where the Organ stands in the *North* Arch; by Reason that the Walls of the Steeple seem'd to decay."—p. 8.

[q] In Malmsbury Abbey it appears that the western arch of the lantern was built up as high as the imposts before the Dissolution, a fact probably connected with the fall of the central tower. But the upper part seems not to have been blocked till after the destruction of the choir.

wall has recently been taken down to a few feet below the string,[r] except at each end, where it now rises in the form of buttresses as high as the impost of the lantern arch. It is pierced near its northern extremity by a small doorway having a four-centred arch with a pointed rear-arch. To this we shall presently have occasion to refer.

Choir and Presbytery:

It will be most convenient to consider the arrangements of the choir and presbytery together: it is in all cases difficult to understand the arrangement of one of these portions of a church without reference to the other, and there are circumstances in the history of this Cathedral which make it especially so, and which will appear in the sequel.

The choir properly so called, occupies, as we have seen, the space beneath the tower, together with a portion of the constructive choir, allotted to the Bishop's throne. In addition to the western wall, partly masked by Gower's Roodloft, it has solid walls separating it from the transepts. That on the south completely fills up the lantern arch, and was built up for security about 1695,[s] two mis-shapen windows being left in it, which were finally blocked in 1844. It is probable however that the lower part of it is much older, or that it supplied the place of a solid wall of equal height with the Roodloft. For the solid wall which is built to that height across the northern lantern-arch, contains a Decorated sepulchral recess, with another, probably a shrine, belonging to the Early English period. The last mentioned wall, with the lower portion of the others, is masked towards the choir by the stalls and their canopies, which extend round three sides of the space beneath the tower.

Stalls:

The stalls are twenty-eight in number, and are inscribed as follows:—

South Return.	North Return.
1. *Decanus*	15. *Præcentor*
2. *Archd Meneue*	16. *Archd Brecon*
3. *P. Llan Dewi*	17. *P. Stī Nicholi*
South Side.	North Side.
4. *P. Cursalis*	18. *P. Langan*
5. *P. Treflodn*	19. *P. Cursalis*

[r] In the years 1847–8.

[s] *Men. Sac.* I. p. 23.

6.	20. .....
7. *Vic^r Episcop*	21. *Succentor*
8. *P. Cursalis*	22. *P. Cursalis*
9. *P. Cursalis*	23. *P. Cursalis*
10. *P. Cludeu*	24. *P. Caer-Fai*
11.	25. .....
12. *P. Caer-Farchell*	26. *Arch^d Cardig^n*
13. *Arch^d Carmar^n*	27. *P. Aurea*
14. *Cancellarius*	28. *Thesaurarius.*

The decanal stall was formerly inscribed *Dom. Epī.* and was assigned to the Bishop, as Dean of the church. The name was altered in the year 1840, when the Precentor assumed the title of Dean under the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Victoria, c. 113, § 1, and took possession of the stall accordingly. It will be observed that the extreme seats are accounted most the honourable, the Bishop or Dean, the Precentor, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer occupying the first and last seats respectively on either side; and the western end, and the southern side take precedence in each case. Next to these are placed the four Archdeacons, with the exception of the Archdeacon of Cardigan, between whose stall and that of the Treasurer, is placed that of the Golden Prebend, whose occupant probably took precedence of the other Prebendaries. The Cursal Prebendaries, as ranking below those to whose stall a corps was attached, occupy, with one exception, the middle seats on either side; the least dignified position of all being assigned to the two non-capitular members to whom stalls were conceded. Of these, it is worthy of observation that the Bishop's Vicar or Subdean sits on the decanal side, while the Subchanter occupies the corresponding seat on the Precentor's side.[t]

The stalls with their desks are of the later Perpendicular period, the work of

[t] We may compare with this the arrangement of stalls which existed in the Colleges of Llangadoc or Abergwili, and Llanddewi Brefi, both in this diocese, and of the foundation of Bishop Thomas Beck. The founder directs the following disposition of the Canons and Vicars in the former church: the Priest Canons are to occupy the stalls nearest to the entrance, the Deacon Canons those nearest to the Altar, the intermediate stalls being assigned to the Subdeacon Canons and Priest Vicars. The Deacon and Subdeacon Vicars and "Custodes Altaris" are to sit on the second form, and the Choristers in front of them.—(*Lib. Stat.* p. 193.) The arrangement of the choir at Llanddewi Brefi was precisely similar, except that the statute assigns expressly the decanal stall to the Bishop, and the opposite stall to the Precentor; a disposition doubtless implied in those of Llangadoc.—*Ibid.* p. 101.

Bishop Robert Tully, who sat from 1460 to 1480. The stalls themselves are of solid oak with plain arms. The arms of the returned stalls, as well as those of the Chancellor and Treasurer, are ornamented on the elbows with grotesque carvings representing, with one or two exceptions, heads whose *coiffure* varies by imperceptible degrees from the cowl of a monk to the cap of a jester. The same aversion to the regulars it exhibited as usual in many of the misereres: the reverend brethren are represented as suffering at one time from nausea, and at another from crapula; while the cowled fox which appears rather frequently, seems to be the carver's version of the proverb, "Cucullus non facit Monachum." One of them deserves especial notice, as possibly bearing on the state of popular religion in the fifteenth century. It represents a fox, cowled and seated on a bench, offering a small round object representing either a wafer or a paten, to a figure having the body of a goose with a human head, and wearing a cap of rather peculiar form. A flagon stands in the bench behind the fox. The design occurs, if we recollect right, in other places.

The stall desks have tolerable Perpendicular panels with Convergent tracery in the head, and a confusion of round and pointed arches. There is a small buttress between every pair of panels, but the styles dividing the pairs of panels have never been put in their places. Their standards are surmounted by bold poppy heads, exhibiting less than the usual delicacy of execution. They are arranged so that the two poppy heads on either side of each opening are of similar, though not of identical design. Thus one pair exhibits groups of roses, those of one being closed, and those of the other full blown. Another pair consists of two plumes of feathers, one stiff and upright and the other drooping. The standards adjoining the decanal stall and those of the dignitaries are panelled, and panelling of a similar design screens the Dean's and Precentor's seats from the entrance. The poppy heads adjoining the Dean's stall and that of the Treasurer, bear shields of arms and devices. On the former are the arms of Bishop Tully,[u] and on the latter two shields, one of which bears, within a bordure, charged with eight croslets fitchy alternately with annulets, a lion rampant, and the other, above a representation of waves, the letters P O L E in a monogram. The openings are opposite to the

[u] A rose and a key are also carved on a part of the same poppy head restored some years since by a country carpenter, who may possibly have found them on the original.

uninscribed stalls; and the desks extend about two feet further eastward than the stalls themselves. They are mounted upon a stone basement pierced with air holes, some of which are square and trefoiled, others circular and plain.

The stalls are surmounted by canopies of rather poor wooden groining, springing from small clustered shafts which divide the backs of the stalls. The space between these shafts is filled with boarding,[v] the upper part of which is pierced, forming remarkably bad Perpendicular tracery of a rather unusual form. Tracery of a somewhat similar form, but if possible much worse, runs round above the canopies, forming a kind of open parapet, terminated to the east on either side by a scroll of the form common in Cinquecento work. Over the entrance to the choir there is a four-centred arch, having small pendants at the apex, which also exhibit marks of extremely late design. The spandrils of this arch are, however, filled with foliage, extremely well cut, and altogether of better execution than any part of the wood work we have been describing. Upon one of the mouldings we find a four-leaved flower blossoming alone. This archway is considerably larger and higher than the passage piercing the solid wall, and of course does not coincide with it in form; the upper part of the interval has therefore been filled with plain boarding, supported by Cinquecento brackets. Above this entrance is a small projection of the loft and its parapet, to which we shall have to refer presently. In front of the stall desks there are rude subsellia for the choir, which can hardly be original. They are however swallowed up by unsightly pews, which occupy every available portion of the choir.

Throne;

The throne stands, as has been said already, on the south side immediately eastward of the lantern arch, and a little in advance of the line of the stalls. It is a complicated and somewhat imposing structure, in spite of its present miserable condition, and consists of three seats, the central and most prominent of which is allotted to the Bishop, while those on either side were probably designed for the Canonici Collaterales[w] or other officers in attendance

[v] This boarding is painted, like the rest of the wood work, a dirty brown, and shaded with the most perverse ingenuity, to represent a series of niches with semi-circular heads, decorated with winged cherubs of the *point du quoi* type. This work was accomplished in the eighteenth century.

[w] Lib. Stat. pp. 27, 215.

on the Bishop. They have all lofty crocketed canopies, projecting forwards and adorned with pediments, between pinnacles crocketed and surmounted by finials. The section of the two side canopies is triangular, that of the central canopy is quasi-octagonal in the first stage, and square for two further stages, which are surmounted by a sort of open spire, with pinnacles, crockets, and a finial. The arches are generally round, trefoiled with open cusps floriated; and there is a plentiful use of pinnacles, and flying buttresses. The whole stands twenty-nine feet in height.

From its great size, its complicated arrangement, the richness of a portion at least of its detail, and its graceful outline, it is certainly a very striking object, and occupies a high place among structures devoted to a similar use. But a few minutes' examination detracts sadly from its merits. It will be found that the various parts do not harmonize in point of arrangement, and much less in style; that Decorated canopies are flanked by Perpendicular pinnacles, and propped by shafts in the worst style of the last century. It is impossible to arrange the several parts, or to assign them to their several dates, the more so as deficiencies have been obviously supplied by imitations in a later style;[x] but it may be observed that the general effect is that of a framework of late Perpendicular date, with fragments of Decorated work affixed to it,[y] an appearance which tallies in the main with the view that Bishop John Morgan (1496 to 1505) erected it.[z] The co-existence of such discordant details as those we have described, requires a further explanation, and will be entered into when we come to treat of the changes which have taken place in the arrangements of the choir.

The back part of the throne is flat and has an unfinished appearance, as if it had been designed to stand against a wall, which can hardly have been the case, as the wall blocking the western arch on the south side of the choir, of which it stands clear even now, did not exist at the time of its erection. In front it is completely enclosed, on the west and north by a low wooden

[x] "This Throne was much Larger & fuller of Work than at Present; But as some of it decayed, other Parts were taken away to preserve it Uniform."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 24. Unfortunately the desired result has not been obtained.

[y] In three or four places the finials of Decorated canopies are stuck on the top of Perpendicular pinnacles, and produce a most grotesque effect.

[z] Men. Sac. I. pp. 24, 70.

partition, consisting of a series of round-headed trefoil panels, with floriated cusps, and on the east by a portion of the parclose dividing the choir from the presbytery.

Parclose;

This screen deserves great attention from its remarkable, and, in this country at least, we believe unique, position; and as bearing the most distinct testimony to the threefold ritual division spoken of above. This division, although commonly marked in the construction of large churches,[a] was not, so far as we know, ordinarily denoted by any actual separation; at all events, this is the only remaining instance that has fallen within our observation.[b] It is perhaps the more important as the present screen appears, from reasons which will presently be alleged, to have occupied a corresponding, though not identical position from the middle of the fourteenth century, and to have been designedly retained, when removed to make room for Bishop Morgan's throne. It therefore probably hands down a very ancient tradition in the church of St. David's.

Independently of its position, the screen itself is not very remarkable, although a fair specimen of its class. It is Decorated, with a slight tendency to Perpendicular: the upper portion consists of a series of pointed arches, slightly obtuse, containing Reticulated tracery of two lights with the head sexfoiled: the lower part, which is solid, consists of a series of panels precisely similar to those of the partition surrounding the throne, except that the hollow cusps are filled up with foliage, and that the portion of it which flanks the throne on the right has pointed instead of round arches, and is somewhat higher. There is a wide doorway in the centre, and three others have been apparently cut through at various times, one of which gives access to the throne, another to a pew on the north side, and the third to the pulpit, which, once moveable, is now fixed against the screen, facing due west. Altogether it has been much patched, and a small portion of the beam which runs along the top has been cut into a rude kind of battlement. The small space which is left between it and the north-eastern pier of the lantern, opposite to, and of equal width, with

[a] See "Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral," &c. by one of the Authors: p. 6.

[b] There seems reason to believe that a screen occupied the same position in Malmesbury Abbey, and some slight indications look as if an analogous arrangement existed at Dorchester before the addition of the present constructive presbytery.

the throne, is occupied by a Decorated parclose, of somewhat earlier date, consisting of a series of pointed arches, containing Arch and Foil tracery, a trefoil resting on two round trefoil arches.

Altar;

Beyond the screen the floor of the presbytery rises by three broad steps to the High Altar, which is placed against the eastern wall, immediately under the Early English triplet. There is nothing further to be described in the furniture of the choir, except the book-desk in front of the throne, of which the stand at least obviously forms part of a lettern, apparently the work of the seventeenth century, which enjoyed its proper place and use in the middle of the eighteenth.[c] A litany stool, of design similar to the subsellia spoken of above, which was in use within the last twenty years, is still preserved in the Chapter-house.

Lettern, &c.

Changes in the Arrangements.

We shall now endeavour to discover the changes which have taken place at various periods in the furniture and ritual arrangements of the choir, so far as either records or traces of such changes remain. It has been shown that the Rood-screen occupied, as now, the western lantern arch in the Cathedral of Peter de Leia, and it is most probable from what we know of the ordinary arrangements of that period that the stalls of the choir were placed, as they are still, entirely within the space beneath the lantern. The attached shafts of the eastern tower piers were originally corbelled off, as is shown by the bases running quite round the pier,[d] but they were carried too low to allow stalls to be continued beyond the arch. They have since been cut away to some distance from the ground, probably to give ingress to the present stalls. Whether the Bishop had a throne, or where it stood, there is no evidence to show; but there is a probability, almost amounting to certainty, that the constructive and ritual arrangements would coincide, and would so continue until after the reconstruction of the choir in 1220.[e] For it must be remembered that five new offices were founded subsequent to this period in the church of St. David's,[f] so that the stalls, which now exactly fill up the choir, would leave a considerable

[c] "In y^e^ midst of y^e^ Choir is a Reading Desk for y^e^ Lessons, & before it a Litany Board: and at the Upper End, beyond the Stalls on y^e^ North Side is a Decent Portable Pulpit."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 23.

[d] See above, p. 62. [e] See Chap. V. [f] Lib. Stat. pp. 1, 4, 13.

space to the east, where the throne, if any existed at this time, would find ample room.

The east wall of the presbytery, which from the cill of the great triplet upwards, is internally of ashlar, below that point consists of rubble. It is therefore probable that the lower part was originally intended to be masked by a low screen, forming a reredos to the High Altar, and probably joining the two most eastern piers. The consequence of this would be to screen off a quadrangular space, which in most Norman Cathedrals is apsidal; and the probability of this being the case is increased, when we consider that this was originally the east wall of the whole building. The doorway appearing in the western wall of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, immediately behind the High Altar, may be thought to bear on the question.[g] It would also appear from the bases of the piers, that there was at this period a much more trifling ascent to the High Altar than at present, so that we may conceive that it was shifted simultaneously with the present arrangement of the floor.

The first change of which we can find any record, belongs to one of the most important periods in the history of the fabric. At the time of the construction of Gower's Rood-screen, it was apparently thought necessary to make a corresponding change in the fittings of the choir. Accordingly in the year 1342, it was ordered that the Canons' stalls should be reconstructed:[h] and there is reason to believe that the order was acted upon. For the parclose of the presbytery, and the low partition surrounding the throne, belong to this era: the former, indeed, bears marks of Gower's peculiar style. Above the canopies of the present stalls we discovered a fragment of an ogee canopy with a finial, agreeing nearly in character and detail with the Decorated work in the throne. This led us to the conclusion that the latter was patched up out of the fragments of Gower's stalls, after their destruction in the fifteenth century. With regard to the extent of the choir at this period, the patched appearance of the parclose seems to intimate that it has been removed from its original site; while its length, which is not sufficient for its present position, and certain marks against the lantern pier, seem to prove that site to have been the eastern arch of the tower. It is true that the foundation was now complete, and its number had been increased by five members since the year 1220: but it was

[g] See above, p. 70.

[h] Lib. Stat. p. 24.

possible to find room in the old choir even for the complete foundation. For the four uninscribed stalls take up an extent of space which might have been allotted to the throne at that time; or again, it is quite possible that no throne existed previously to that erected by Bishop Morgan, the Bishop occupying only the decanal stall, as at Ely to the present day.

A great change took place in the choir in the latter half of the fifteenth century, as regards both the fabric and the furniture. For on the one hand the walls of the clerestory were raised, and the pitch of the roof lowered; and on the other, the stalls were wholly reconstructed, and the present throne erected. The former of these alterations was simultaneous with the constructive changes just alluded to, and belongs to the era of Bishop Robert Tully (1460 to 1481).[i] Evidence of this is afforded by the occurrence of Tully's arms on the decanal stall; and a monogram containing the name of Treasurer Pole, on the stall which he occupied, would lead us to refer the work to the latter part of Tully's episcopate. Indeed one of the poppy heads bears the Tudor rose, and if we are to regard the fact as in any way significant, we must suppose that the stalls were not actually brought to their present condition till four years after Tully's death.

It is difficult to conceive that the canopies by which the stalls are surmounted, or at all events the parapet above them, were the work of the same era, and the Cinquecento scrolls already mentioned appear to intimate that the latter was an addition in the succeeding century, or later. But it is rather curious that we have in the present termination of the Roodloft, a piece of woodwork looking extremely like a fragment of the canopy of stalls, and in the character of its tracery nearly resembling the stall desks.[j] On the other hand, the compartments are too small to fit the present stalls, so that it could hardly have been designed for the purpose, unless its present position is the result of a miscalculation of size. At all events, it seems evident that the entrance between the Dean's and Precentor's stalls, with the arch above it, was constructed prior to the erection of the solid wall in 1492.

The last change of any importance was the construction of the throne by Bishop John Morgan (1496 to 1504), to whom it is assigned by tradition,[k] and by the more certain evidence of his arms, which remained on it till near the

[i] Men. Sac. I. pp. 22, 66. [j] See above, p. 81. [k] Men. Sac. I. p. 24.

time of Browne Willis.[l] As a necessary consequence, the parclose was now moved farther eastward, and it is possible that the position of the High Altar was changed at the same time. For the choir and presbytery were laid with tiles in the latter part of the fifteenth century, a work which was, at all events, not completed until the parclose was shifted.[m] And we may well suppose that if the altar was removed at all, it was simultaneous with both the removal of the parclose, and the new arrangement of the floor.

It will be necessary to notice a few alterations which have taken place since the Reformation. As early as the year 1621, permission was given to erect a pew within the "chancel of the Church of St. David's,"[n] which appears from the context to mean the presbytery. This shows that the laity were at that period admitted into the choir, which indeed from the construction of the church could hardly be avoided. Several pews have been put up at later periods, but none exist at the present time within the presbytery. In the year 1697, the moveable pulpit was erected,[o] and it was only made immoveable within the memory of the present generation.

Organ.

We have reserved to this place the description of the organ, an object sufficiently important, or at all events, here as elsewhere, conspicuous enough to demand separate consideration. It occupies the north lantern arch, as at Winchester, an unusual, but a particularly convenient position. It is said that the organ was placed under the western lantern arch until the Great Rebellion.[p] The existence of one is implied in entries in the *Liber Communis* made in the years 1490, 1492,[q] 1557, and 1565;[r] and in the year last mentioned a sum which even then was not very magnificent, was expended in

[l] Browne Willis, p. 83.

[m] This appears from the arrangement of the tiles near the parclose.

[n] See above, p. 77, *note*.

[o] "The new moving pulpit was made by Morris Jones, carpenter, and Thomas Williams, joiner, in the month of April, 1697. And Medley (nephew to the then Bishop Watson,) preached the first Sermon in the same, August 14, 1698, being Sunday." Cited by Mr. Fenton (p. 77, *note*) "from the MS. journal of an eminent dignitary of St. David's living at the time." Are we to infer that no sermon was preached in the choir for sixteen months?

[p] Browne Willis, p. 8. Men. Sac. I. p. 23.

[q] "Et Sol' Willō Warryn organizanti 40ˢ."—*Lib. Comm.* I. pp. 15, 22.

[r] "It. to yᵉ mʳ of yᵉ children for keping of yᵉ organs and teaching of yᵉ queristers, £10."—*Ibid.* p. 32.

repairing it.[s] The last item is of some importance, as it tends to show that the "great organs" were extremely small as compared with the instruments of the present day, and might therefore be accommodated without difficulty over the western entrance to the choir, in spite of the wall which appears already to have blocked the arch. Probably the tradition of the organ having stood there, led Browne Willis to suppose that the arch had been recently built up.[t] However this may be, there are strong signs of its having occupied that position subsequently to the erection of the wall. The balustrade which surmounts the canopies of the stalls projects at this point, as if to give greater room for a small organ;[u] and the door which pierces the wall, and is apparently coeval with it,[v] is not set in the centre, where it would have interfered with the organ, but near the northern pier of the arch. This seems to have been the usual place of the organ in our churches, and to have been retained from the mere force of habit to the present time, when, from the greater size of our instruments, it is far less convenient.

In the year 1581 the Bishop directed a new organ to be made "ad usum divini servitii;"[w] and it is asserted that this instrument was demolished in the Great Rebellion.[x] Mr. Manby, however, relates a curious legend, by which it would appear that it escaped destruction by an artifice of the organist.[y] There was certainly an organ in existence in 1691,[z] and as it was at that time so much out of order, as to render a new one necessary, we may conjecture that the old organ of 1581 weathered the storms of the seventeenth century.

At the beginning of the last century, a new instrument was erected by the celebrated Bernard Schmidt, better known as Father Smith. An order of the Chapter made in the year 1695 strongly expresses the "necessity of having a new Organ, which the Canons do greatly desire," and decrees "that £10 out of the allowance to the Master of the Fabric should be set aside annually

[s] "It. for making two stops for y^e^ great organs, 6^d^. It. for turning & dressing of y^e^ bells clapers 16^d^. It. for mending of y^e^ weddere cocke 3^s^."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 40.

[t] See above, p. 83.

[u] See above, p. 87. The date 1705 painted on this projection probably refers to the clock, which is placed above it.

[v] See above, p. 84. [w] Reg. B. p. 104. [x] Men. Sac. I. p. 23. [y] Manby, p. 29.

[z] Answers of Precentor Ellis to Bishop Watson's Visitation Articles, Reg. E. *ad finem:* "I answeare that we have an Organ but out of order, for how long I doe not remember." We shall have occasion to give additional instances of this dignitary's culpable ignorance.

for five years, towards accomplishing this desirable object."[a] This order was followed by another in the year 1698, to the intent that "care be taken to provide an organ with all convenient speed," and that each Canon should advance £10 for the purpose.[b]

The following notice is from a communication made by Archdeacon Richard Davies, to Archdeacon Yardley, and dated August 3, 1740:—

"What Particular time y^e^ new Organ was set up here, I cannot be positive, but do believe, from y^e^ accounts, it must be in the year 1704 or 1705. What Exact Sum̃ it stood y^e^ Chapter In, I cannot for certain say, but am apt to think, from Various Items in various Years picked up about it, in their Accounts it could not be less, including all Charges, than £300, whatever More; and in a very little time after it was set up, they were at a Considerable Expence in repairing it again, after it had been damaged by a Storm, which uncovered y^t^ very part of y^e^ Roof of y^e^ Church under which it lay, & exposed it to y^e^ Rain & y^e^ open Sky; & they were obliged to have an Organ Builder (down from London I think) at a great Expense to put things to rights again.

"Upon looking over some loose Papers in y^e^ Chest at St. David's, I have found these Receipts from Mr. Bernard Smith of London Organ-Builder (who made this Organ at St. David's) for y^e^ Summe of £290 paid to Him only upon that Account. So that when y^e^ Charge of bringing it down, y^e^ Necessary workmanship here, & other articles relating to it are put together, I dare say, before it could be compleatly set up, y^e^ Expence was much nearer to £400 than £300."[c]

This organ was certainly completed some time before the year 1717, the date of Browne Willis' work; and it is satisfactory to know that in the year 1720, it was still "in good order."[d] At length however it became totally unmanageable, and a new one, consisting of a Choir Organ and a Swell, was erected in the year 1843, by Mr. Lincoln, of London. The old case "of Norway oak"[e] is still used to mask the new instrument. Unhappily, the extremely damp situation has been as injurious to it as the storm was to its predecessor.

Chapels, Altars, &c.:

We must pass from the central and principal division of the church, including nave, choir and presbytery, arranged with reference to the High Altar as its

[a] Reg. B. p. 79.
[b] *Ibid.* p. 84.
[c] Men. Sac. II. Appendix, fol. 54.
[d] Answers of Treasurer Clavering to Bishop Ottley's Visitation Articles, Reg. G. *ad finem.*
[e] Men. Sac. I. p. 23.

ultimate object, to those subordinate altars and chapels by which it was surrounded. Of these we are presented with a considerable list, and some of them we are able to identify. They bear severally the names the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John, St. Andrew, St. Stephen, the Holy Innocents, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Thomas, the Holy Cross, the Blessed Sacrament, and King Edward. To these we must add the Chanter's Chapel, a name commonly given to the south transept.

Lady Chapel;

The Chapel of St Mary, commonly called the Lady Chapel, is placed in its usual position at the eastern extremity of the building. Of the appendages to the altar, the sedilia only remain, consisting of three seats of equal height under ogee arches, crocketed, between pinnacles; the finials of the pinnacles and canopies appearing in the cornice, as is the case in Gower's screen.[f] They are evidently the work of Gower, and form part of his re-construction of the chapel, together with the tomb of Bishop Martyn, which immediately adjoins them and forms part of the same composition. There is no piscina remaining.

St. Nicholas';

St. Nicholas' Chapel occupies the extreme east end of the north choir aisle prolonged, or as we have elsewhere called it, the north chapel aisle. A small piscina, with a plain trefoil head and a quatrefoil water drain, remains near the south-eastern angle.

King Edward's;

The corresponding place on the south side is occupied by the Chapel of King Edward. Here also there is a piscina with a pointed arch, cinquefoiled; and a projecting bracket of singularly bold design, on the north side of the altar, which seems to intercept the Decorated string. On the south is one contemporaneous with that string, and adorned with the four-leaved flower.

Bishop Vaughan's;

The Chapel bearing the name of Bishop Vaughan was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The marks of the altar against the east wall, and the remains of the foot-pace before it, are still discernible. There is no piscina; but there are large niches, one on each side of the altar, and two squints in the east wall, so

[f] See above, p. 80.

PISCINA IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE

placed that a person standing before the altar of the Trinity would command those of St. Nicholas and King Edward.

The north transept was dedicated to St. Andrew, and there remain marks of an altar in the central arch of the eastern arcade, which doubtless bore the name of that saint. In the angles of this recess are two brackets, apparently for images, of the same date as the arcade itself. The altar of St. Stephen also stood in this transept, and as we shall see presently, somewhere near its southern extremity.[g] St. Andrew's; St. Stephen's;

We have already said that the adjoining chapel, now the Chapter-house, bore the name of St. Thomas; and it appears that it was dedicated to the Martyr, and not to the Apostle.[h] A beautiful Early English piscina is found in the usual place, consisting of two pointed trefoil arches under a square head, having the spandrils filled up with extremely rich foliage. In one of the spandrils is a curious group representing a combat between a man and a monster in the act of swallowing another man. There are two water-drains, one round and the other quatrefoil. St. Thomas';

The south transept, as has been stated, bore the name of the Chanter's Chapel; and it has been conjectured that it was dedicated to St. David, as the north transept was to St. Andrew, the co-patron of the church.[i] In that case it is probable that the centre arch on the east is the site of St. David's altar, and that the arch to the south of it contained that of the Holy Innocents, which is recorded to have been placed in this chapel.[k] Its designation of the "Chanter's Chapel" has been conjectured with great probability to be a corruption of the "Chancellor's Chapel," a name which actually occurs.[l] By a statute of Bishop Thoresby in the year 1348, the Chancellor was enjoined to expound Holy Scripture for the benefit of the Cathedral clergy, and it is supposed that this chapel was used for that purpose.[m] There existed, until the transept was fitted up for the parish service in 1844, the springers of vaulting The Chanter's; Innocents';

[g] Giraldus, Itin. Camb. I. c. ii.
[h] See below, page 101, *Note*.
[i] Fenton, p. 85, *Note*.
[k] Men. Sac. I. p. 103.
[l] Reg. A. p. 254.
[m] Lib. Stat. p. 107. The Chancellor is directed "Sacram Scripturã publicè legere et docere, . . . cedente Mro David Baret."

at its southern end, apparently portions of a canopy projecting from the wall above the lower pair of windows. It is supposed that this marked the position of a seat of state designed for the Chancellor or for the dignitaries of the Church on this occasion. It is true that this was not erected for at least thirty-six years after the statute was made, as the great south window was in existence in 1384;[n] but as the statute was not to take effect during the incumbency of Chancellor David Barrett, and we have no evidence that it ended before 1389,[o] the date of this structure may harmonize with the foundation of the lecture; indeed it is possible that the design adopted in the restoration of the south front bore some relation to it.

This chapel was fitted up for the parochial service in 1844, and an altar placed at the south end, exactly in the position of the supposed canopy, the fragments of which were then destroyed. At the same time a pulpit was inserted in the splay of the west window, a plan of which one cannot help praising the ingenuity, whatever may be said of the taste: a staircase leading to it was constructed in the thickness of the wall. The fact is recorded merely to save future archæologists from the error of supposing the latter to be original.

Holy Cross; It is evident that an altar stood against the northern part of the Rood-screen, in front of it: this was probably the altar of the Holy Cross,[p] or that of the Sacrament, both of which must have been near this place. The southern St. John. portion of the Rood-screen seems to have been called the Chapel of St John;[q] and we may perhaps infer from the existence of a foot-pace now nearly destroyed, together with a small stoup with a cinquefoil head cut out of the south-eastern respond of the nave, that the altar of St. John stood between the Roodloft and the entrance to the south transept. We have no data for the identification of St. Catherine's aisle, unless the figure of a female saint in a vesica, painted on the third pier from the east, determines the question in favour of the south aisle of the nave. Perhaps this is the place to mention a plain stoup with an ogee head, on the right hand of the great south door.

Altar Stones: Several altar stones, distinguishable by their crosses, have been laid in the

[n] Lib. Comm. I. p. 7.
[o] Men. Sac. I. p. 119.
[p] See above, p. 82, *Note*.
[q] See above, p. 83.

pavement near the High Altar, and generally in such positions, as seem to prove that care was taken to avoid their desecration: one of these is placed near St. David's Shrine, and three others are laid near the south-eastern angle of the presbytery. Into one of these a small one of a different material has been inserted. It is one foot three inches in length and nine inches in breadth, and is apparently a species of superaltar, or "Altare portatile,"[r] although its insertion into a larger stone is, so far as we are aware, without parallel in the few examples of its class remaining. Small altar-stones of this kind were inserted into wooden tables, in obedience to the following direction in the "Rubricæ generales Missales," § xx. *De præparatione Altaris et ornamentorum ejus:*—

Altare Portatile.

"Altare in quo sacrosanctum Missæ Sacrificium celebrandum est, debet esse lapideum, et ab Episcopo consecratum: vel saltem ara lapidea similiter ab Episcopo consecrata, et in eo inserta, quæ tam ampla sit, ut Hostiam, et majorem partem Calicis capiat."[s]

In the present instance it would appear that the portable altar was consecrated by the Bishop (who was probably non-resident) at a distance, and inserted in an unconsecrated stone, to bring it into compliance with the conditions of the Rubric. Other flag-stones occur in the same place, which may have been altar-stones, but have lost their distinguishing marks.

We possess records of several foundations of this kind, some of which are of importance in the history of the fabric. One appears to have been founded by

Chantries: Bishop Anselm;

[r] The "Altare portatile" appears to have been used for private masses, and especially by Bishops in their necessary journeys, to whom the use of it was expressly permitted by a decree of Boniface VIII. Considerable abuses having arisen from this permission, it was forbidden by the Council of Trent, but conceded to Bishops by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in 1586. It was again forbidden in 1703 by a decree of Clement XI.; but allowed under restrictions by constitutions of Innocent XIII. in 1723, and Benedict XIII. in 1724.—*Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, Rome, 1744, I. p. 393. *Du Saussay, Panoplia Clericalis*, II. pp. 494–6. The Pontificale of Pope Benedict XIV. contains a special service for its consecration. It seems also to have been laid upon a fixed altar on particular occasions.—See Dr. Rock's *Church of the Fathers*, I. pp. 245–263. In the pilgrimage of St. David and his companions to Jerusalem "quatuor eos muneribus Patriarcha donavit; Altari scilicet portatili consecrato, Campana bajula, Baculo insigni, & Tunica ex auro contexta."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 637.

[s] We beg to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. H. R. Lloyd, Vicar of Owersby, Lincolnshire, in calling our attention to the passage cited in the text, in connexion with the object under consideration, and for giving us some valuable information concerning the monument of Treasurer Lloyd, to be described presently.

Bishop Anselm, *circa* 1248, for a chaplain who should daily say mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The chaplain was to be appointed by the Bishop, and had the Church of Llanfaes, or St. David's, near Brecon, assigned for his support.[t] This church was subsequently appropriated to the Archdeacon of Brecon, charged with 100^s yearly for the support of the chantry.[u] The date of the original foundation agrees with that which, from internal evidence, we assign to the commencement of the Lady Chapel. The next we find mentioned was founded by Bishop Richard de Carew in the year 1272. He ordained that 100^s should be paid annually out of the tithes of Llanafan-fawr to a chaplain who should say mass daily at the altar of the Holy Cross, for the souls of Bishop Thomas Beck, of Richard his own father, of Scholastica his mother, and of himself.[v] It appears from Leland that he was buried near this altar;[w] and we have seen that a part of the Rood-screen may probably be attributed to him.

Bishop Richard de Carew;

A more important chantry was established in the year 1302 by Sir John Wogan, Knight, Lord of Picton, for three chaplains who should say mass daily at the altar of St. Nicholas, or elsewhere in the Cathedral, for the souls of Sir John Wogan, of King Edward and his heirs, and of Bishop David Martyn and his successors.[x] These chaplains were also to be present in the choir on certain festivals. They were to receive £10 annually from the Chapter, to whom the founder grants the lands of Castle Maurice in Dewisland, and as a further indemnity procures from the king the appropriation of Llanhowel and Llandeloy. It appears from the instrument of foundation that the Chapter either had made, or contemplated making alterations in the fabric with a view to the accommodation of the chantry.[y] We shall see that a general reconstruction of

Wogan;

[t] Lib. Stat. p. 59.

[u] *Ibid.* See also p. 106.

[v] *Ibid.* p. 57. We have assumed that the Altar of the Crucifix was near the Rood-screen; although it may be questioned how far the assumption can be reconciled with the terms of the document here cited:—"ad altare Stæ Crucis juxta magnū Altare."

[w] See above, p. 82, *Note.*

[x] Lib. Stat. pp. 151–157. "Unus celebrabit Miss. de Trin. alius de beatâ V. & tertius de omnibus sanctis."—p. 157.

[y] The founder acknowledges himself bound to procure releases from the persons interested, and to obtain from the King leave to appropriate the churches, "infra triennium a tempore confectiōis p̄sentiū numerand̄. Et si contingat nos vel Hæredes nostros p̄missa infra trienniū a confectione p̄sentiū nullatenus impetrare, volumus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris et concedimus

the eastern chapels took place during the former half of the fourteenth century, and it is more than probable that it was connected with this foundation. For the titles of these chapels, those namely of King Edward, the Wogan Chapel, (as that of St. Nicholas was sometimes called,) and that of Bishop Martyn, otherwise known as the Lady Chapel, render it probable that the chaplains, who are subsequently spoken of as serving the chantries of Sir John Wogan, King Edward, and Bishop David Martyn,[z] performed their duties at different altars, according to the alternative permitted by the founder. Indeed, they are expressly directed by a statute of Bishop Nicholls to celebrate successively,[a] an order which would have been superfluous if they had generally used the same altar.

Symonds;

In the year 1329 Sir Richard Symonds, Knight, granted his manor of St. Dogmell, held under the Bishop and Chapter, to the Bishop and his successors, to find two chaplains who should say mass daily for his soul and that of his wife Eleanor, at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, or elsewhere. They were also to attend the choir at the same feasts as the chaplains on the Wogan foundation, and were to receive an annual stipend of five marks each.[b] A complete reconstruction of St. Thomas' Chapel took place about this time; and we are probably justified in connecting it with Sir Richard Symonds' foundation.

Bishop Gower;

In 1334 Bishop Gower appropriated the Church of Manorowen to the Subchanter and Vicars Choral, and granted them certain lands and messuages on condition that they should daily say mass for the Bishop and his successors, and for the Canons, in the Chapel of St. Mary, and yearly on the day of his

qd teneamur refundere et restituere prædictis Epō et Capitulo ōem suīmā pecuniæ quam in Cantariā p̄dictā apposuerint unà cum dampnis et expensis quæ vel quas circa dictam suīmā pecuniæ impetrand̄ fecerint sustinuerint vel incurrerint quoquo modo . . . . . et nihilominus ex tunc cesset Cantaria supradicta."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 156.

[z] "Capellanis Cantariarum prædictarum bonæ memoriæ Domini Johannis Wogan militis, Edwardi Regis et David Episcopi fundatorum earundem Cantariarum."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 226. Lib. Comm. I. p. 17.

[a] Lib. Stat. p. 229.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 113. "Ad altare Sti Thomæ." The most recent copy of the Statutes has the words "Ad altare Sti Thomæ Martyris." (p. 90.) We shall have occasion to revert to the subject in our chapter on the Architectural History.

death should say an office of the dead at the High Altar for his soul and the souls of his successors, and of the Canons.[c] The Lady Chapel was considerably altered by Bishop Gower, and in all probability at the time when he founded his chantry.

Walter de la Hulle;

In 1339 Walter de la Hulle, Canon, gave the Subchanter and Vicars his house and land adjoining to say an office of the dead yearly, on the anniversary of his death, and a mass on the day following.[d]

Bishop Nicholls;

We have seen that the Archdeacon of Brecon had to pay 100s. yearly, charged upon the Church at Llanfaes.[e] In the year 1432 a similar sum was charged upon the same church by Bishop Benedict Nicholls for the daily celebration of the mass of the Holy Trinity in the Chapel.[f] This appears to imply the existence of a Trinity Chapel prior to the time of Bishop Vaughan: but reasons will elsewhere be given for believing that Bishop Vaughan's Chapel was altogether a new building.

Bishop Morgan.

Bishop John Morgan, in 1501, appropriated Llawhaden to the choristers, on condition that they should say certain daily prayers for the souls of himself and others in the nave of the Cathedral before the Crucifix; near which he was afterwards buried.[g]

Shrines: Shrine of St. David;

a. (14.) The shrine of St. David, commonly so called, occupies the third arch from the east on the north side of the presbytery, and belongs to the period of the earliest transition from Early English to Decorated. The front towards the choir consists of a table resting on three rather obtuse arches slightly chamfered, with four quatrefoil apertures in the spandrils chamfered inwards. The two outer ones of these are blocked internally: the inner ones have holes just large enough to admit a hand, and communicate with small lockers in the interior, which were in all probability receptacles for offerings. Above this rises a triplet of arches, backed with solid ashlar, and resting on detached cylindrical shafts, with engaged responds. As a matter of fact the shafts and their bases are lost, and have been supplied by wooden ones; but their caps

[c] Lib. Stat. p. 110. [d] *Ibid.* p. 108. [e] See above, p. 100.
[f] Lib. Stat. p. 229. [g] *Ibid.* pp. 223–225.

remain, one of which has foliage tied by a band in a very peculiar manner. This is all of the original work remaining, on this side at least; but a late Perpendicular addition has been superimposed, consisting of crocketed hood-mouldings to the arches, of particularly shallow work, with a square label running over the whole; on each side of the latter there is a corbel-head, removed from the back of the shrine at a recent period.

The triplet of arches contained images, or more probably fresco paintings upon the ashlar back. The centre arch was occupied by the patron Saint, the western one by St. Patrick,[h] and the other by a figure in episcopal attire, said to be St. Denis.[i] The whole was formerly surmounted by a wooden canopy, "a fair Arch of Timber work painted,"[j] which has left its marks in the capitals of the piers. The back towards the aisle is now imperfect, but consisted of a composition of three low round arches, the central one larger than the others. Over each was a quatrefoil hole chamfered inwards; and between the holes were two plain square niches.

The few scattered notices existing, which have relation to the shrine of St. David, may help us to form a judgment as to the real use of this object. We are told that St. David was originally buried in his own church,[k] and that St. Justinian, his contemporary and confessor, whose legend we have already had occasion to notice,[l] was buried in the same tomb.[m] His remains appear subsequently to have been translated, that is to say, removed from their sepulchre, and placed in some conspicuous part of the church in a shrine or feretory.[n] The shrine appears in the first instance to have been a portable one, as in the year 1086 it was stolen from the church by some person or persons unknown,

[h] "St. *David* himself is painted in his *Pontificalibus;* and on each side of him, is a Bishop Saint; one by the Inscription is known to be St. *Patrick;* the other is somewhat defac'd." The words are those of the Elizabethan writer; *Browne Willis*, p. 69.

[i] *Ibid.* p. 13.

[j] *Ibid.* p. 69.

[k] Anglia Sacra, II. p. 640.

[l] See above, p. 13.

[m] "St. Justinianus martir 5 die decembris in vigilia Sancti Nicholai; jacet in capella in ecclesia Sancti David sub ejus tumba, confessor Sancti David."—*Itinerarium Willielmi de Worcestre*, (ed. Nasmith, 1778,) p. 164.

[n] "Sanctus Davidicus de ecclesia Menevensi
Sanctus Thebaus [*sic*] de Landaff sepultus
Sanctus Keneth de villa Keneth in Gowerland
Isti tres sancti et non plures sunt translati in North Wallia."—*Ibid.* p. 116. It is to be observed that it appears from the context, that "de" here means "of" and not "from."

carried a short distance from the town, broken and plundered of its contents.[o] As the burglars took the opportunity of carrying a quantity of gold and silver out of the church, we may infer that they were in quest of earthly treasures, and we are probably to limit the expressions of the annalist to the latter. In the following century, indeed, a claim was put forward on behalf of the monks of Glastonbury, the most audacious assertors of relics, to possess the body of St. David; and their historian, William of Malmesbury, tells us most circumstantially that the relics were translated to Glastonbury in the year 946.[p] Had the monks been aware of the robbery of 1086, we may conclude from their conduct in the matter of St. Dunstan's body, that they would have laid claim to the merit of the transaction.[q] However the relics appear to have been in their proper place in the middle of the twelfth century, as they attracted the veneration of Henry II. on his return from Ireland in 1173.[r] A century later a new, and we may suppose a more elaborate, shrine was commenced by Bishop Richard de Carew; and its date (1275) coincides with the architectural character of the existing structure.[s] But we find that the relics of St. David were enclosed in a portable shrine even after this date. For an Extent of the Bishop's lands made in the year 1326, informs us that the burgesses of St. David's were bound to follow the Bishop in time of war with the shrine of St. David, for one day's journey in either direction.[t] A similar

[o] "Anno MLXXXVI. Scrinium Sancti David de Ecclesiâ suâ furatur, & juxta civitatem ex toto spoliatur."—*Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 649.

"Ac yna y ducpwyt yscrin Dewi yn lledrat or eglwys ac yspeilwyt yn llwyr yn ymyl y dinas."—*Brut y Tywysogion, Myv. Arch.* II. p. 399.

"Anno dom. M°.lx.xviii yducpwyt kist Dewi or eglwis yn lledrat, ac o diethyr y dinas y torrat ac yspeilwyt."—*Brut y Saeson, Ibid.* p. 523.

"Ynghych yr un amser y dygwyd ni wyddys gan bwy ysgrin Dewi a'r Trysorau auraid ac arianaid o Eglwys Mynyw."—*Brut y Tywysogion, Ibid.*

[p] Gale, Scriptores XV. p. 299.

[q] See the letter of Eadmer, (*Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 222,) and the extremely amusing correspondence between Archbishop Warham and the monks of Glastonbury on the same subject.—*Ibid.* pp. 227–233.

[r] "Anno MCLXXIII. Henricus Rex Angliæ de Hiberniâ redeuns orandi causâ venit ad Sanctum David xv. Cal. Maii."—*Ibid.* p. 649. Giraldus, *Itin. Cambr.* II. c. i.

[s] "Anno MCCLXXV. Incœptum fuit Feretrum Beati David in Ecclesiâ Menevensi."—*Ibid.* p. 651.

[t] "Item dicunt, scilicet Juratores . . . . . quod tempore guerræ sequi debent Dmñ Epñ cum Feretro B. David et cum Reliquiis ex utràque parte, ita quod illa nocte redire possint domi."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 255.

service was due from certain tenants of the lordship of Llawhaden.[u] And by a statute of Bishop Nicholls already cited, the chantry priests are enjoined to carry the shrine in processions, when directed to do so by the precentor or president of the Chapter.[v] Still the evidence of a writer of the sixteenth century,[w] who conversed with persons who must have seen it before the Reformation,[x] sufficiently proves that the object now shown as the shrine of St. David, bore the same name anciently; and as the shrine itself is proved to have been portable, it follows that the object in question was one of those substructures of stone upon which the actual feretra were often laid. And we are inclined to believe that the shrine which was commenced in 1275 is no other than the object now remaining; for the term "feretrum," in spite of its etymology, was continually applied to standing shrines, as, for instance, to the celebrated shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham. It may be added that the words of the Menevian annalist are more applicable to a permanent structure of stone than to a mere piece of ecclesiastical furniture.[y]

It is scarcely necessary to say that St. David's shrine was both an object of

[u] "Item dicunt Jurati quod quidam Epŝ Menev̄ nõe David quondam dedit vii caruc̄ Terræ in Plano et in Bosco cum quadam filia sua prout a senioribus et fide dignis audierunt, et vocatur Terra illa Drym. Et fuerat quondam illa Terra de Dñico Epī in villa de Lawhaden. Et tempore guerræ custodire debent Patriam. Et si Epūs tempore guerræ transitum fecerit per Epātum cum Reliquiis B. David, sequi debent eum usq̄ Villam de Kermerdyn."—*Ibid.* pp. 256, 7.

[v] Lib. Stat. p. 229. [w] Browne Willis, p. 69. [x] *Ibid.* pp. 54, 5.

[y] We have arrived at this conclusion with considerable hesitation, as it is opposed to the opinion of that eminent ritualist and antiquarian Dr. Rock, who has kindly favoured us with some communications on the subject. He is inclined to believe that the object in question was a "treasury or place for holding those small reliquaries which were put upon the altar on high days, and at all other times kept under lock and key." (*See Church of our Fathers*, vol. III. p. 473.) Dr. Rock's objection to the traditional belief is founded, in part at least, on the comparatively obscure position which the erection occupies. "I cannot bring myself," he writes, "to think that such a Saint's shrine would have had such an inconspicuous site as the interval between two pillars on the north side of the presbytery of the Cathedral." "St. David's being one of the great pilgrimages of this island, as I have noticed, *ibid.* p. 377, I cannot bring myself to think that the shrine stood anywhere but *behind* the High Altar, in its full dignity and splendour."

With all deference to so high an authority, we must say that this hypothesis is physically impossible, as the High Altar, from the fifteenth century at least, has stood against the eastern wall of the presbytery. We may add that the position is in fact by no means so inconspicuous as it may seem to those who have not seen it, and is moreover exactly paralleled by that of St. Ninian's shrine at Whitherne. But we cannot admit any merely *à priori* objection to weigh against evidence which is nearly contemporary.

CHAP. IV. CATHEDRAL: ARCHÆOLOGY, ETC.

considerable veneration, and a source of considerable profit. To the royal pilgrimage which we have already mentioned, we have to add that of William the Conqueror, which is asserted to have occurred in 1079,[y] and that of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor, which took place in 1284.[z] The offerings and legacies which were made to this shrine appear to have constituted a special fund, which was placed under the care of two procurators appointed for the purpose.[a]

Shrine of St. Caradoc (?)

b. In the north transept beneath the Organ-loft, there is an object which apparently belongs to the same date, and from its general similarity of design must in all probability be referred to the same class. The probability is enhanced by the fact that it is enclosed by a parclose of Perpendicular woodwork of similar character to the backs of the stalls, which it is difficult to account for on any other supposition.[b] The object in question consists of a stone table resting on two pointed arches slightly chamfered, having between them two quatrefoil holes, chamfered inwards. The whole is contained under a round arch; above which there are two round holes set in squares, probably air-holes. From its position in a chapel dedicated to St. Andrew, taken in connexion with the fact that he was a patron of the church, it has been conjectured with some show of probability that it was designed as a receptacle for relics of that Saint.[c]

But we are informed by Giraldus that St. Caradoc, a person of considerable celebrity in South Wales, who died in 1124,[d] and was canonized at his instance by Innocent III.[e] was buried in this chapel near the altar of St. Stephen.[f]

[y] Anglia Sacra, p. 649. [z] *Ibid.* p. 651.

[a] By a Statute of Bishop Beck, made in 1287, recited and confirmed by Bishop Gower in 1342, three officers are directed to take charge of all things given or left "tam ad fabricam, quam ad Feretrum, sive Caput."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 24.

[b] Browne Willis (p. 9) has conjectured that it was used as a penitentiary; and his conjecture which is generally adopted, has probably saved succeeding antiquaries from supposing it to be a confessional. [c] Fenton, p. 84.

[d] See the life of St. Caradoc in Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. lv. He was a native of Brecknockshire, and entered into the service of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales. Afterwards, being ordained, he served in the churches of Llandaff and St. David's successively, and finally lived a monastic life at St. Ishmael's in Pembrokeshire.

[e] Anglia Sacra II. p. 547.

[f] "Et sic Meneviam corpus allatum crebra miracula tam præsentium quam sequentium quoque

Miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb, and one recorded in his life, is an additional illustration of the morality of the Glastonbury monks in the matter of relics.[g] On the whole we are inclined to believe the object we have been describing to be the tomb of St. Caradoc, and to have been erected at the same time as St. David's shrine.

In this chapel are preserved some sculptures in Caerfai stone, executed in low relief, and representing the Crucifixion, with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James the Less and St. Andrew. They were discovered beneath the pavement of the nave; but it would appear from Mr. Manby's account that a similar discovery was made in the north transept.[h]

Monumental Remains:

This cathedral is rich in mediæval tombs to a degree beyond most churches of the same size: and it is a happy consequence of its deserted condition, that it is exceedingly poor in monumental remains of a later period.[i] It is true

coruscatione, in ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ Sanctique David ala sinistra juxta altare Sancti protomartyris Stephani. debita est celebritate tumulatum."—*Giraldus, Itin. Cambriæ* I. c. ii.

[g] "Cujus digitū cū Willelmus malmesburyensis monachus et historiographū insignis: devotiōis gratia abscidere & secū auferre tēptaret scūs quasi sentiēs mēbrorū abscisionem collectis in volā digitis & simul in palmā replicatis manū manica subtraxit."—*Capgrave*, fol. lv.

[h] "There has lately been discovered in this chapel, by removing some rubbish, a representation of its Saint, but so defaced that the features are lost, and only the bare traces of his form and insignia remain: near it is placed a very remarkable representation, which was found at the same time, and appears well worthy the attention of the antiquary; it is much mutilated, but what remains represents a demon offering a child to a venerable person at an altar: its singularity forbids the hazard of an opinion on a subject so abstruse."—*Manby*, p. 21. We shall certainly act upon this extremely prudent suggestion, and not the less so, as we have never seen the object.

[i] We have said that the Cathedral is deficient in modern monuments, and it will be altogether unnecessary to enumerate those which exist. A few, perhaps, possess some degree of general interest, as being memorials of deceased Canons of the church. In the chancel, south of the altar, there is a mural tablet in the blocking of an arch, to the memory of Chancellor Needham, who died in 1727. Another similar memorial erected to the memory of Canon John Williams, who died in 1780, occupies what should be the west window of the north transept. It is probable that many monuments devoted to a like end, have been destroyed; and some which existed in the north transept, even in the time of Mr. Manby, must have had, if we are to interpret his words literally, a very unusual and startling effect. "There are likewise deposited in this chapel the sacred remains of some other members of the church, erected on neat pedestals of masonry, as tributes to their memories who are gone to receive the reward of their well-spent lives."—p. 21. A similar mode of treating the dead was practised at Temple Bar and elsewhere; but with a totally different intention.

that we have none of the larger and more magnificent class of sepulchres, nothing to emulate the gorgeous mausoleum of Wykeham, or the graceful monument of Edward of Caernarvon. But those which exist belong to a class far better fitted to its purpose, and certainly much less obtrusive. The Roodloft, indeed, regarded as a canopy over the tomb of Gower, may perhaps be referred to the more splendid class of monuments: and considering the age in which he lived, and in which he died, we may regard it as altogether fortunate that we have been spared seeing the sepulchral chapel with which the Cathedral was threatened by Bishop John Morgan.[j]

1. In the wall of the south aisle, a little to the east of the south door, there is a plain recess with a segmental arch, which had lost its effigy, if it ever had one, before the time of Browne Willis.

Bishop John Morgan;

2. (1.)[k] On the south side of the nave, between the first and second piers from the east, is the monument of Bishop John Morgan,[l] who died in 1504. It is an altar-tomb of Bath stone surmounted by an effigy of the prelate in Eucharistic vestments,[m] that is to say, in the chasuble, dalmatic, albe, stole and maniple, with a rich mitre on the head, and a pastoral staff, now mutilated, resting on the left arm, veiled, and turned outwards. Two kneeling angels support a cushion on which the head is laid. The hands are placed near to each other, and have singular gloves. The head, foot, and north side of the tomb are adorned with rectangular panels having their upper angles rounded off without any kind of foliation, and exhibiting cases of interpenetration in its worst form. Altogether the architectural ornaments are extremely poor, and nearly resemble much of the German work of that period. The sculpture on the other hand is extremely spirited and graceful, as well that of the principal figure, as those of the smaller images which adorn the sides. In the two panels on the north side there are six images of Apostles; six more evidently decorated the south side, but these have been cut away to make room for a pew. At the foot there is a group representing the resurrection of our Saviour, sculptured in

[j] Men. Sac. I. p. 70.

[k] The numerals in brackets refer to the monuments marked in Browne Willis' ground-plan, some of which have since been destroyed: the others refer to our own.

[l] Browne Willis, p. 71. The author has the testimony of a writer of the sixteenth century.

[m] We shall frequently have occasion to use this expression; and it must be understood, in the case of a Bishop, to signify the vestments enumerated in the text,—in that of a priest, the same with the exception of the dalmatic, and, of course, of the mitre and pastoral staff.

alto-relievo with remarkable grace and freedom. At the head there is a griffin, Bishop Morgan's bearing, supporting a shield inscribed with the letters W. and I., or J., in a cypher. Whose initials they may be, we are at a loss to say; the heraldic bearing taken in connexion with authority almost contemporaneous leaves us no doubt to whom we are to attribute the monument. This tomb with its very advanced sculpture, and very debased architecture, is a striking commentary on the state of the arts at that important period of transition; and it is extremely curious to observe the corruptions of the latter art manifesting themselves in tombs in the first instance. The monument of Henry VII., in Westminster Abbey, is of course a remarkable case of the same kind.

3. (2.) Near the tomb of Morgan, under the most eastern window of the south aisle, there is a Decorated recess, with a canopy of a very peculiar form, which may be described as a semi-octagon with concave sides, the apex and the two adjoining angles being adorned with finials radiating from the centre. It resembles to a certain extent the form recurring so frequently in the tombs of Bristol Cathedral, and is clearly a development of the idea which produced the semi-octagonal doorways in the Rood-screen[n] and the Palace. Perhaps we may regard it as one instance among many of the influence of Bristol upon the architecture of South Wales. A canopy of a somewhat similar design occurs in a tomb at Cheriton, or Stackpole Elidur, in Pembrokeshire.[o] From each side of the canopy there is a cusp projecting, and the intervening foils are cinquefoiled. It exhibits the wave moulding, four-leaved flower, and pellet, characteristic of Gower's works, and springs from small engaged octagonal shafts, with floriated caps of great projection. On each side there is a pinnacle cutting the Transitional string beneath the windows, and adorned with a very peculiar decoration at the offsets, instead of Gower's usual sunk quatrefoil.[p] The cill of the window is supported by two brackets, concealed by the canopy, which look like parts of a Transitional string of complicated section.

It contains the figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, the head reclining on a double cushion supported by angels with a dog at the feet. This lies on an altar tomb of plain ashlar, which rather interferes with the design of the

[n] See above, p. 78.

[o] Figured in Fenton, p. 423.

[p] Something like these occurs in Decorated work in Bristol Cathedral, where ammonites have been inserted bodily by way of ornament.

recess enclosing it. It is therefore probable that the figure has been removed to this place, although it is clearly of the same date. The whole is of Caerfai sandstone.

4. and 5. There are two incised slabs in the pavement near this point: one bears a cross flory upon four steps: the other, of which only half remains, bore a floriated cross in relief, with a branch springing out of either side.

6. and 7. Before the steps of the *dais*, on the south side, there are two large slabs of shell marble containing matrices of brasses. These represented ecclesiastics vested in the cope and amess, with inscription plates at the feet. The figures were about half-size. They mark the graves of William Wilcock and Richard Rayader, successively prebendaries of St. Nicholas and masters of St. Mary's College.[q] Wilcock died in 1502; Rayader *circa* 1530.[r]

William Wilcock and Richard Rayader;

8. (5.) In the southern compartment of the Rood-screen is a large altar-tomb, that of Bishop Gower, having on the south side eight figures of Apostles in relief. The figure is in Eucharistic vestments, with a mitre, a pastoral staff veiled in the left hand, and the right, which is broken, originally raised in benediction. The head is on a double cushion supported by angels, and there is a lion at the feet. It is much mutilated. It was formerly protected by a brass railing, on which was the inscription, "Henricus Gower, Episcopalis Palatii Constructor."[s] Bishop Gower died in 1347.

Bishop Gower;

9. (4.) Next to Gower's tomb, and on the right hand of the entrance to the choir, there is a figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments. The head is on a double cushion supported by angels, the hands are clasped, and the feet rest on a lion.

10. (3.) On the left hand of the choir entrance there is another effigy in every way similar to the last, but with a dog instead of a lion at the feet. These three monuments, like the Rood-screen, are of Caerfai stone. The two last have been attributed to various persons. Browne Willis, whose great object seems to be to find a monument for every Bishop, assigns them to Richard de Carew and Thomas Wallensis,[t] of course erroneously. Arch-

[q] Browne Willis, p. 4.

[r] Men. Sac. p. 232.

[s] Browne Willis, p. 71. This is evidently the true inscription, as it is quoted from a writer who must have seen it himself. The inscription given, probably from tradition, by Browne Willis' correspondent is more eloquent than veracious. "Hic jacet *Henricus Gower*, Structor Palatii et hujus Ecclesiæ, Menevensis Archiepiscopus qui obiit," &c.—p. 4.

[t] Browne Willis, pp. 104, 5.

deacon Yardley is scarcely more felicitous in ascribing them to Chancellor Stradling and Treasurer Lewis, both of whom died near the middle of the sixteenth century.[u] There seems to have been a vague tradition that they commemorated a treasurer, and a precentor or chancellor, unknown.[v] If this tradition is of any value, we may perhaps assign them to persons who held those stalls during Gower's episcopate. It happens that we have the names of two or three of the dignitaries who played a rather prominent part at the time, and may possibly have been associated with Gower in some of his works. Of these were David Barret, successively treasurer, precentor, and chancellor; David Francis, successively chancellor and archdeacon of St. David's, and John Gome, chancellor. If we might venture to hazard a conjecture, we would suggest the probability of two of these persons being buried here.

11. In the north aisle, at the foot of the steps leading to the transept door, there is an incised slab, bearing a cross flory on three steps.[w]

12. In the winding staircase leading to the Roodloft there is a curious incised slab, now forming one of the upper steps, which both from its size and its design appears to be only a fragment of a larger one. It is impossible to describe the pattern, but there is a border of interlacing work, of the kind which is commonly found on ancient crosses, which leads us to assign it to a very early period.

13. In the middle of the choir, opposite to the throne, a large slab bears the matrix of a small brass, with the marks of an inscription on the verge.

14. A little to the north are two incised slabs, at present nearly covered by a pew, and bearing inscriptions in characters of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The more southern one is inscribed

Morgan ap Eynon;

Petra p̄cor dic sic Morganu [s ap Eynion est hic . . . . . tur Deus. Amen.]

The part in brackets is now lost beneath the pew. Morgan ap Eynon was Archdeacon of Brecon, and died in the year 1408.

[u] Men. Sac. I. p. 39. [v] Browne Willis, p. 5.

[w] Archdeacon Yardley probably refers to this slab, with Nos. 4 and 5, and others, when he says, "Near these [Nos. 6 and 7] are 6 or 7 old Grave Stones, of Grey Marble; some of them small and mean: One hath an Antique Head on it. Some of these are reported to have been brought from y^e^ Chapel of St. Mary's College."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 17. The stone with "an Antique Head on it" probably belonged to the same type as No. 21. A fragment of such a stone now forms one of the steps leading from the churchyard to the Tower Gate, and may have been removed from this place.

15. The adjoining stone bears an inscription now wholly illegible, but of which the following words could be made out in the last century:[x]—

. . . . . diaconus Morganu . . . . . .

This fragment constitutes a difficulty, as the only Archdeacon Morgan who occurs at the period to which the stone must be referred, rests in the adjoining grave.

Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond;

16. (9.) A little east of the parclose, in the middle of the presbytery, there is a large altar tomb of Purbeck marble, much enriched with rather shallow panelling. The top bears the matrix of a brass, with an inscription plate at the feet of the figure, and shields at the four corners. There was also a verge inscription. On the sides there are eight shields set in panels, from which brass, doubtless enamelled, has been torn away, and it seems probable that a plate has been torn away from the foot. It is the tomb of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor and Queen Catherine of Valois, and father of Henry VII., who died in the year 1456. It bore the following inscriptions. The first was on the verge:—

"*Under this Marble Stone here enclos'd, resteth the Bones of that noble Lord* Edmond *Earl of* Richmond, *Father and Brother to Kings, the which departed out of this World in the Year of our Lord God, a thousand four hundred fifty and six, the first Day of the Month of* November; *on whose Soul, Almighty* Jesu *have Mercy. Amen.*

"And on the tomb [that is, probably, at the foot of it] was this:—

"*Heu! Regum Genitor, & Frater splendidus Heros,*
Omnis quo micuit Regia Virtus, obit.
Herculeus Comes Ille tuus, Richmondia *Duxque*
Conditur Edmundus *His modo Marmoribus.*
Qui Regni Clypeus, Comitum Flos, Malleus Hostis,
Vitæ Dexteritas, Pacis Amator erat.
Hic meditare Vians Te semper Vivere posse?
Non morieris Homo? Nonne miselle vides
Cæsar *quem Tremeret Armis, nec vinceret* Hector
Ipsa devictum Morte ruisse Virum?
Cede Metrum Precibus: Det Regum Conditor Almus
Ejus Spiritui Lucida Regna Poli."[y]

[x] We have restored this inscription, and so much of the preceding one as is lost, from some drawings bound up with a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Cawdor.

[y] Browne Willis, pp. 10, 11, 70.

The Earl of Richmond was originally buried in the Church of the Grey Friars at Caermarthen,[z] where this monument was set up in his son's reign.[a] At the dissolution of the religious houses his remains were translated, and the monument removed, to St. David's.

17. (13.) On the south side of the presbytery, against the third arch from the east, there is a low tomb of Purbeck marble, which has apparently been removed to this place, as it is much broken. It supports the figure of a Bishop in Eucharistic vestments, mitred, with a pastoral staff veiled in the left hand, and the right raised in benediction. The feet are broken away. It is commonly attributed to Bishop Gervase or Jorwerth, who died in 1229.[b] This however is merely a conjecture, as the real occupant of the tomb was unknown in the sixteenth century.[c] The figure is evidently the work of a later period; but it might perhaps have been placed over the grave of Gervase, during whose episcopate the present presbytery was chiefly erected. The head of a pastoral staff, of copper gilt, and of extremely rich design, with part of a wooden handle, was found near this tomb in the year 1844, and is at present in the possession of the Bishop of St. David's.

18. (15.) Immediately east of the tomb last mentioned, there is another, rather lower, the sides of which are adorned with a shallow trefoil arcade. Upon it is sculptured in relief a figure of a Bishop in Eucharistic vestments with a rich mitre, a pastoral staff in the left hand, not veiled, but turned outwards, and the right hand in the attitude of benediction. Two angels support over the head a trefoil canopy adorned with rich foliage, upon which is inscribed in Lombardic letters:— Bishop Anselm;

PETRA PRECOR DIC SIC ANSELMUS EPISCOPUS EST HIC.

There is something like a nimbus round the head, a fact which it is not altogether easy to account for; and the feet rest upon two dogs. The eastern end of the tomb is partly imbedded in the lowest of the steps leading to the altar, from which we may infer an alteration in the arrangement of the steps. Bishop Anselm died in 1248.

19. (12.) In the second arch from the east, on the south side of the

[z] Fenton, p. 73.
[a] Browne Willis, p. 89.
[b] Browne Willis, p. 12.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 68.

presbytery, there is a recumbent figure in the armour of the latter part of the fourteenth century.[d] The head, which has the conical basanet and camaille, is reclining upon a casque surmounted by the crest, *On a chapeau a lion sejant.* The body armour is covered by a jupon, on the breast and back of which are embroidered the wearer's arms, [*Gules,*] *within a bordure engrailed* [*or,*] *a lion rampant* [*of the second*]. It is not quite clear whether the jupon, which falls in a fringe round the hips, is meant to have sleeves, or whether the figure has a hauberk with short sleeves, those of the tunic appearing beneath them. The hands are clasped; there is a richly decorated belt and sword; the legs have complete plate armour, with genouilleres: the feet have spurs, and rest on a lion. Above it is a screen and projecting canopy of late Perpendicular work in character resembling those over the stalls.

20. (11.) Immediately opposite to it, in the corresponding arch on the north side, there is a figure similar in nearly every respect. The head, however, reclines on a double cushion, and the heraldic bearings on the jupon are differenced by a label of three points. The arms are protected by plate armour, with elbow-joints and round plates at the elbows. The hands are broken off, but were originally clasped in prayer. Both these figures are extremely well sculptured in a fine oolite; and it is evident that they both represent members of the same family.

The question is, who are the individuals here interred, or of what family are they members? Browne Willis, who as usual is closely followed by Mr. Manby,[e] ascribes the effigy on the south side to Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales; and considers the other to represent Owen Tudor, the father of Edmund Earl of Richmond.[f] He subsequently corrects the latter statement, and assigns the monument to Rhys Gryg, whom he erroneously calls the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr.[g] Mr. Fenton reduces this tradition to its original form, and attributes the tomb to Rhys ap Gruffydd, commonly called the Lord Rhys, and his son Rhys Gryg, respectively.[h] It is certain that these, and these alone of the South-Welsh Princes, were buried at St. David's, the rest of their family having been buried at Strata Florida Abbey.[i] We can

[d] Figured in Sir R. C. Hoare's Translation of Giraldus' Itinerary, vol. II. p. 25.
[e] Manby, p. 25.
[f] Browne Willis, pp. 12, 13.
[g] Browne Willis, p. 69.
[h] Fenton, p. 79.
[i] "Anno MCXCVIII. Ricardus Rex obiit. Resus filius Griffut Sutwalliæ Princeps moritur

hardly conceive the position which these tombs occupy being conceded to any but to persons of the highest rank. We may add that the arms which appear on the jupons are given by heralds as those of Rhys ap Tewdwr and his descendants.

On the other hand Rhys ap Gruffydd died in 1196, and his son Rhys Gryg in 1233, so that the monuments are from a century and a half to two centuries too late. And at the time when they must have been erected, a family which bore the same arms and crest, held considerable possessions and many offices of trust on the Marches of Wales, and was rapidly rising in importance, shortly to become more illustrious in another quarter. Early in the fourteenth century Sir Gilbert Talbot gave his arms, *Gules, within a bordure indented or, a lion rampant of the second*,[j] which are still borne by his descendants, the bordure however being now engrailed, as on the tombs of which we are speaking.[k] His great-grandson, Sir Richard Talbot, was found to be one of the cousins and heirs of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1392; and both he and his son maintained their claim to the earldom. Sir Richard died in 1396. His eldest son Gilbert commanded for Henry IV. in South Wales in 1405, and in 1415 was commissioned by Henry V. to treat with Owen Glyndwr. His brother John, who was ultimately his heir, is known in history as the great Earl of Shrewsbury.[l] We have no special ground, however, for supposing that any members of this family were buried at St. David's.

Upon the whole we are inclined to believe that these effigies mark the resting-places of the Lord Rhys and his son. The general tradition, the conspicuous position which they occupy, and the mark of cadency on one of the figures, all tend to the same conclusion. On this supposition, of course, we have to account for their erection at the close of the fourteenth century. We may perhaps ascribe it to a family, whose members possessed great power in South Wales, and were claiming greater, and seem to have regarded themselves as in some sort the representatives of Rhys ap Gruffydd. For it

iv. Cal. Maii; cujus corpus apud Sanctum David honorificè humatum est."—*Annales Menevenses; Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 649.

"Y vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Rys Gryc yn Llan Deilaw vawr, ac y cladwyt yn Mynyw yn ymyl bed y dat."—*Brut y Tywysogion; Myv. Arch.* II. p. 456.

[j] Roll of Arms, temp. Ed. II., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas; p. 76.

[k] The crest as borne at present differs a little from that which appears on the monument.

[l] Collins' Peerage; ed. Brydges; III. pp. 8–11.

appears that Gilbert Talbot, a lineal ancestor of Sir Richard Talbot, married Gwenllian daughter of Rhys ap Gruffydd, "and in respect of the said marriage his descendants relinquished their paternal arms, viz. *Barry of ten pieces, argent and gules*, and bore *a lion rampant, or, in a field gules, with a bordure engrailed of the first;* which were the arms of the said Rheese and his ancestors Princes of Wales."[m] This exchange of arms is, probably enough, a mere figment; but it is enough for our supposition that it should have been believed to be true.

Treasurer Lloyd;

21. (10.) In the eastern arch, on the north side, there is an altar-tomb and canopy of Cinquecento work, bearing a half-recumbent figure, in cassock, gown, and hood, with a book in the left hand. Beneath are two weepers, a male and female, kneeling, the former in a civilian's gown: another figure in the canopy and a shield on one of the spandrils have been torn away; two shields remain, and bear the following arms:—

I.—*Sa: a spear's head between* 3 *scaling ladders of* 4 *steps ar:, on a chief gu: a tower of the second.*—Cadifor ap Dinawal, borne by Lloyd of Llanllyr.

II.—*In* 5 *pieces,* 3 *over* 2; 1*st*, Cadifor ap Dinawal, as before; 2*d*, *Or, a lion rampant reguardant sa: armed and langued gu:*—Gwaithfoed Fawr, Lord of Ceredigion; 3*d*, *Sa: a lion rampant or, armed and langued gu:*—Tethwalch, Lord of Ceredigion; 4*th*, *Per pale az: and sa:* 3 *fleurs-de-lis or,*—Seyssillt ap Dyfnwal; 5*th*, *Or, a griffin segreant vert,*—Elffin ap Gwyddno.[n]

It is thus inscribed:—

MARMADVCVS LLOYDE ARMIGER IVRISCONSVLTVS ET
MEDII TEMPLI SOCIVS HOC FECIT IN PERPETVAM
PATRIS SVI CHARISSIMI THOMÆ LLOYD HVIVS
ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS THESAVRARII
MEMORIAM QVI OCTAVO DIE MENSIS MARTII
AÑO REGNI SERENISSIMI REGIS JACOBI DECIMO
OBIIT ET HIC JACET.

[m] Collins' Peerage; ed. Brydges: III. p. 3. Gwenllian, the daughter of the Lord Rhys, married Ednyfed Fychan, a direct ancestor of the Royal House of Tudor. Had she two husbands, or had her father two daughters of the same name, or was the wife of Gilbert Talbot a daughter of Rhys Gryg? Chronological considerations incline us to the last supposition.

[n] Thomas Lloyd was the second son of Hugh Lloyd, Esq., of Llanllyr, co. Cardigan,

Treasurer Lloyd died in 1612. The monument is evidently built up into the wall, and would lead us to infer that the arch was blocked even at that period.

22. In the south transept, near the entrance from the nave, now blocked, there is an incised slab tapering towards the foot, and bearing a floriated cross in relief, and above it the head of an ecclesiastic in high relief appearing out of a hole in the stone. This monument is of a class rather common in Wales, and not very common elsewhere.[o] There seems to have been another specimen near the same place. Archdeacon Yardley, in describing the transept, says,—"Here are about 5 old Gravestones of Grey Marble: Two of which look like Stone Coffins, and have heads Cut on y^e^ Top of them in an Ovil [*sic*] Fashion, but no appearance of any Inscription."[p] The same writer elsewhere mentions the existence of an inscribed stone in this transept, which he attributes to Philip ap Howell, Archdeacon of Brecon, who died early in the fourteenth century. The inscription was as follows:—

C: ARCEDIACONE: DI: BRE..HINOV: GIST: ICI:
DEV: DE: ..A:ALME: ET: MERCI: AM..:[q]

The monument of another Archdeacon of Brecon was also discovered in this transept in the year 1719. It bore the following inscription on the verge:—

"Hic jacet Johannes Archidiaconus Brechoniæ, cujus Animæ propitietur Deus.
Parce precor Christe quem mole premit Lapis iste,
Ut præsens Anima non condempnetur ad yma.
Amen. Pater nost."[r]

This is said to have been removed from the Lady Chapel, and is assigned to John de Fekeham, whose death is placed by the *Annales Menevenses* in 1274.[s] In the Earl of Cawdor's MS. already referred to, there is a drawing of another inscribed stone found in this transept, and assigned in a conjectural note on the margin to Maurice Archdeacon of Cardigan, who died *circa* 1205. The inscription, if we read it rightly, runs thus:—

MAVRICIVS BOMO(?) THVO(?) IN TVMVLO IACET ME.....

descended from the Llwyds of Castell Hywel in the same county. He was brother to Griffith Lloyd, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and married Frances, sister of Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. David's.

[o] Archæologia Cambrensis, vol II. pp. 314–321.
[p] Men. Sac. I. p. 20
[q] Men. Sac. I. p. 173.
[r] *Ibid.* p. 172.
[s] Anglia Sacra, II. p. 651.

23. In the north transept, west of the recess which has been described as a shrine,[t] and within its parclose, there is a recumbent figure under a Decorated ogee canopy, crocketed, between pinnacles. The arch is cinquefoiled, its cusps being open, and the foils trefoiled. The finial is built up rather awkwardly into the wall. There is panelling below the figure consisting of a series of lozenges quatrefoiled. The figure represents an ecclesiastic in the dalmatic, albe, and stole, two ends of the latter appearing in front; the head has an ogee canopy between pinnacles; the hands appear to have been clasped, and the feet to have rested on a dog. The whole is of Caerfai stone, and the detail is much plainer than that which characterizes the works of Gower.

(8 and 9.) In this transept there were formerly two monuments, one beneath the north, and the other under the west window;[u] no traces of them remain, and they seem to have disappeared before the year 1811.[v] It is not clear what part of the following description applies to them. "Here is an Old Broken Gravestone of white Marble which had an Effigies curiously Engraven on it, for Maurice Glyn Prebendary of Clydey, who died A.D. 1526: this is legible on it, Hic jacet Mauritius Glynn, cujus Aïe..... Here [are] two Hansome White Alabaster or Marble Gravestones, one is for a Woman, but so broken and defaced that not half of it is remaining: The Other is almost whole, but only this Part of y^e^ Inscription is to be pick'd out, Hic Jacet Thomas ap Powel..... in Eccl. Menevens. Canonicus..... A.D. 1490, cujus Anime propitietur Deus. The Effigies is well done, a Little above it was a Crucifix painted on the Wall under an Arch, and y^e^ Effigies of St. Andrew standing by y^e^ Cross. Under y^e^ Great Arch next y^e^ Penitentiary is a Hansome Tomb of a Dignitary, which by Tradition is said to be for one Powel; perhaps this was for Thomas ap Howel Archdeacon of Cardigan A.D. 1513."[w] The monument last mentioned is obviously that which we have marked No. 21, and which is here post-dated by about two centuries. This and the tomb of Canon Thomas Powell, bearing date 1490, are perhaps those intended by Browne Willis, when he speaks of this transept containing two monuments to Canons of the name of Powell.[x] We may perhaps gather from Archdeacon Yardley's account that the latter stood near St. Andrew's altar: in that case the two remaining,

[t] See above, p. 106. [u] Browne Willis, ground-plan. [v] Fenton, p. 84.
[w] Men. Sac. I. pp. 20, 21. [x] Browne Willis, p. 8.

those namely of Maurice Glyn, and of the unknown female, are probably identical with the tombs marked 8 and 9 in Browne Willis' ground-plan.

24 and 25. In the north choir aisle there are the remains of two tombs, occupying the two most eastern arches of the presbytery, and now built up into the wall which blocks them. Small cylindrical shafts with Early English caps, carrying low segmental pointed arches, are all that can now be made out. Several glazed wall tiles have been placed above the more eastern one. Both are said to have contained effigies, that in the more western one, No 24, representing "a priest with a lion at his feet." This was ascribed by tradition to Maredudd, Archdeacon of Cardigan, one of the sons of the Lord Rhys, who died at Lampeter in 1228, and was buried at St. David's near the tomb of his father.[y] The recess, however, belongs to a rather later period.

26. In the north chapel aisle on the south side, a Decorated tomb, of whose canopy only a small fragment remains, has been cut away by the north arch of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel. The small portion of the canopy remaining, is crocketed, and taken in connection with certain faint marks on the wall, leads to the inference that it was of design similar to that of No. 3. At any rate its existence is important, as its position tends to confirm the view which we shall presently have occasion to maintain, that the space now occupied by Bishop Vaughan's Chapel was previously to his time enclosed on all sides by solid walls. A sculpture in relief of the Crucifixion with St. Mary and St. John, is built into the wall beside it. This, like the canopy, is of Caerfai stone; but there is a mark above it, from which a brass plate has probably been torn away.

27. Just below the canopy is a low altar-tomb of oolite with Perpendicular panelling, supporting a recumbent effigy of a priest in Eucharistic vestments; the head reclining on a double cushion supported by angels, and the feet resting on an animal of some kind. It bears an inscription in letters of the fifteenth century:— Archdeacon Hiot:

Orate pro Anima Johannis [hiot] nuper Archi.....[z]

[y] Fenton, p. 87. "Y vlwdyn honno y bu uarw Maredud uab yr arglwyd Rys archdiagon Keredigyawn ym Pont Ystyffan, ac y duepwyt y gorff y Vynyw ac y cladwyt yn enrydedus y gan Iorwoerth escob Mynyw yn eglwys gyr llaw bed yr arglwyd Rys y dat."—*Brut y Tymysogion, Myv. Arch.* II. p. 455.

[z] The surname is supplied from Men. Sac. I. p. 153, although it is still nearly legible. The correspondent of Browne Willis seems to have found difficulty in reading it: "In this Isle on

John Hiot was Archdeacon of St. David's, and died in 1419. The monument is much defaced and broken.

28. (18.) On the north side of the chapel, just opposite to the tomb of Archdeacon Hiot, and under a mutilated Decorated canopy of Caerfai stone which cuts the Early English string, there is a recumbent figure carved in some light coloured stone, apparently a coarse oolite. It represents a knight in complete chain armour, with a surcoat, drawing a sword, and with the feet resting on a lion. The figure apparently belongs to the close of the thirteenth century, and is generally supposed to represent one of the Wogans, the family by whom a chantry was founded in this chapel at the beginning of the fourteenth. The chapel, as we shall see, was reconstructed by Bishop Gower, to whose date we may safely refer the canopy; and if we suppose the tomb to belong to one of the Wogans, it is probable that the canopy was then erected in honour of the founder's kinsman.

29. (19.) To the east beneath a Decorated canopy crocketed and cinquefoiled, with bold open foliations, the finial of which cuts the Early English string beneath the windows, there is a recumbent effigy of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, with the hands clasped, and the feet resting on a dog. There is a canopy for the head forming a spherical triangle and adorned with crockets: canopies of similar design occur in No. 34 (a Decorated tomb cut through by Gower's string), in a small tomb in the chancel of Carew Church, and in an external tomb at Nangle, in Pembrokeshire. Beneath the figure there is panelling similar to that in No. 23; and the canopy, which exhibits instances of interpenetration, springs at one end from a corbel forming the head of a greyhound. The whole is of Caerfai stone. It is ascribed by Browne Willis to one of the Wogan family, and perhaps correctly: although the only Canon of that name whose existence is recorded, died in the fifteenth century.

(16, 17.) Browne Willis places two monuments (thus marked) under the

the South Wall near the Door which leads into the Chancel, [?] is an old Monument much defac'd: it has on the Side a broken Inscription: *Orate pro Anima* Johannis *Archi*..... The rest was at the Feet, but all that is quite defac'd; so that 'tis not known whether it was *Archidiaconi*, or *Archi-Episcopi*. I consulted a learned Man upon the spot, who judg'd it to be *Archi-Diaconi*, because the Monument seem'd to be later than the Title of Arch-bishop."—*Browne Willis* pp. 18. 19. Mr. Manby, of course, finds himself in precisely the same dilemma (p. 34); but he does not seem to have consulted a learned man upon the spot.

third and fourth windows of this aisle from the east, and describes them as "Knights Templars," that is to say, probably, figures in armour similar to No. 28, and very possibly members of the Wogan family. Not a trace of these remains at present.

Bishop David Martyn;

30. (31.) In the Lady Chapel, on the south side, adjoining the sedilia on the west and forming part of the same composition, there is a Decorated tomb under a lofty straight-sided canopy, with a cinquefoiled arch, having open foliations, between pinnacles, and rising from engaged octagonal shafts with floriated caps of section similar to those in No. 3. Faint traces of a figure are still visible; but in a drawing of Archdeacon Yardley's it evidently represents a Bishop.[a] The whole is of Caerfai stone, and is evidently the work of Gower. The canopy blocks an Early Decorated window, and cuts a string just where it makes a step, and has in its turn been made to carry the Perpendicular vaulting added by Bishop Vaughan, its finial having for that purpose been turned into a corbel.

The tomb is ascribed by tradition to Bishop David Martyn, by whom the chapel was originally completed; and there can be little doubt that the supposition is correct.

31. (29.) Nearly opposite to it are the remains of a tomb which seems to have resembled it in all respects, but is even more mutilated. It contained a figure, which appears from Archdeacon Yardley's drawing to have represented a Bishop;[b] and it has been erroneously ascribed to Bishop Houghton,[c] probably from a confusion between St. Mary's Chapel, and the Chapel of St. Mary's College, in the latter of which he was evidently buried. Bishop Gower founded a chantry here, and adorned the chapel accordingly; and it has been conjectured with probability that he erected these monuments to his own immediate predecessors, Thomas Beck and David Martyn.[d] On the other hand it appears from the Will of Bishop Thomas Fastolfe, who died in 1361, that he was to be buried "on the right hand of the image of the Blessed Mary,

[a] Men. Sac. I.

[b] *Ibid.*

[c] Browne Willis, p. 23. The writer asserts it roundly, as though he had at least a tradition to support him, but no tradition existed at the end of the sixteenth century.—*Ibid.* p. 67.

[d] "I take it" says Archdeacon Yardley, speaking of Beck, "to be This Bp. who began St. Mary's Chapel, & that He lies buried in it on y^e^ N. Side, which Tomb is by Mistake said to be Bp: Houghton's."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 49. Compare Fenton, p. 87, *Note.*

in her Chapel;"[e] so that his effigy may have been placed here in a recess already existing. These tombs, like the sedilia, are of Caerfai stone.

32. In the south chapel aisle, close to the southern arch of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, there are the remains of a figure in complete chain armour of the latter part of the thirteenth century, with a shield, apparently drawing a sword. The lower half of the figure is cut off by one of the props erected in 1816. It seems to be carved in the same stone as No. 28.

33. (24.) Opposite to the last, there is a Decorated recess with a cinquefoiled arch of Caerfai stone, having closed cusps, and cutting slightly into the Decorated string beneath the windows, with which however it appears to be contemporaneous, as a Decorated vaulting shaft is corbelled off above it in a peculiarly elegant manner. This, like the work above it, is of Caerfai stone. It has no projection from the wall.

(25, 26, 27, 28.) Browne Willis places monuments thus numbered in this chapel; but from their position we cannot help suspecting that his No. 28 is our No. 32 misplaced, and that his No. 27 is the old altar-stone, as his No. 26 is certainly the piscina.[f]

34. (23.) In the south choir aisle beneath the most eastern window, there is a Decorated recess of Caerfai stone, whose canopy is cut through by Gower's string. The canopy is remarkable as possessing the only instance of ball-flower which occurs in the church, with the exception of that which appears in the Decorated stage of the tower. The tomb is adorned with seven shields, set in double quatrefoils. In the recess is a figure of an ecclesiastic, vested in the dalmatic, alb, maniple and stole with two ends appearing. The hands are clasped, and the feet rest on something like a dog. There is a canopy over the head similar to that in No. 29. The figure is in lower relief than those which we have reason to assign to Gower's era, and would seem, as well on that account as because Gower's work interferes with it, to be of earlier date.

35. (21.) Nearly opposite, on the north side, and in the eastern arch of the Presbytery, there is a mutilated figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, cut

[e] Men. Sac. I. p. 279. Bishop Nicholls, who died in 1433, directed his body to be buried "in Capella B. Mariæ Menevensis ante Ymaginem ejusdem. Item volo quod lapis marmoreus ponatur super me cum nomine meo desuper sculto."—*Ibid.* p. 296

[f] In like manner he has marked the sedilia of the Lady Chapel as No. 30.

in Caerfai stone: the head is on a double cushion supported by angels, the hands are clasped, and the feet rest on a dog. This is commonly shown as the tomb of Giraldus Cambrensis,[g] upon the authority of Browne Willis, who in fact assigns this to Peter de Leia, and places the tomb of Giraldus in the adjoining arch to the west.[h] This however is mere conjecture: we are not at all sure that the tomb "marked No. 20 in the Ichnography" ever existed, as the "Ichnography" is not at all trustworthy, and there are certainly no traces of it now. As to the tomb now shown as that of Giraldus, we ascribe it without hesitation to Bishop Gower's era.

Silvester the Physician;

36. (22.) To the west of No. 34, there is an incised slab of character similar to No. 5, bearing a floriated cross with branches, in relief. The edge is chamfered, and bears the following inscription in Lombardic letters:—

SILVESTER : MEDICVS : IACET : HIC : EIVS[que] RVINA :
MONSTRAT : QVOD : MORTI : [non] : OBSISTIT : MEDICINA :[i]

37. On the top of the last there has been laid a broken slab of oolite, with a figure in high relief, and an inscription on the verge, of which only the last word is now legible. It was partly deciphered about the beginning of the last century and ran as follows:—

.... SOUTIENS .... DIEU DE SON AME AIT MERCY . AMEN.[j]

The figure appears to be that of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, holding a book in the right hand.

The original site of this monument is doubtful, but from Mr. Fenton's description, and from the ground-plan given by Browne Willis, who places "A Dignitary's Monument" to the west of "Silvester The Physitians Monument," it probably stood under the third window from the east of the choir aisle.[k]

[g] Fenton, p. 88. This writer informs us that it was assigned by tradition to one Mortimer, a name not met with among the dignitaries of St. David's, although common in the neighbourhood.

[h] "I take the defaced monument in the South Isle, marked No. 20 in the Ichnography, to have been his; and that the next to it, marked No. 21, was made for his predecessor Peter de Leia."—*Browne Willis*, pp. 101, 2.

[i] Surely Mr. Fenton is wrong in calling this and the following tombs "canopied," p. 89.

[j] Fenton, p. 89.

[k] Browne Willis, indeed, places Silvester's monument, which he numbers 33, under that window, placing the "Dignitary's monument," marked 32, in the adjoining bay to the west,

This has also been assigned to Giraldus by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who has engraved the head of the figure as a frontispiece to his edition of the *Itinerary*. He was led to this conclusion by the fact of the figure holding a book, which he conceived to symbolize the literary achievements of Giraldus. The monument, however, apparently belongs to the middle or later part of the thirteenth century; so that it cannot be assigned to Giraldus, except upon the supposition that it was put up some time after his death. Mr. Fenton has been less felicitous in pronouncing No. 34 to be the tomb of Giraldus; although he does so with some degree of caution:[l] Mr. Manby boldly places it in No. 3, which is of still later date.[m] Altogether we may safely assert, that if St. David's Cathedral ever contained a contemporary monument of Giraldus, which, all things considered, is not very likely, such a monument no longer exists.

Bishop Vaughan;

38. In Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, immediately in front of the altar, there is a large slab of shell marble, which looks as if it had been completely covered with an engraved brass plate. The remains of fastenings still exist at the upper and lower ends of the stone.

"Bishop *Vaughan* lies bury'd here. His Image was engraven in Brass upon a Marble Stone, lying flat upon the Ground, and had underneath these Verses, engraven on a Brass Plate.

"*Præsul* Meneviæ Edwardus Vaughan, *hic jacet, & Lux*
Ecclesiæ & Patriæ Fautor, Honorque Decus.
Quinque Talenta habuit Domini, & docte & sapienter
Et bene tractavit fudit & auxit, ea.
Ergo Deus Dic Pontifici huic, Bone & Euge, Fidelis
Serve! intra in Domini Gaudia, Summa Tui."[n]

and inserting another, which he marks 23, in the place actually occupied by the monument of Silvester.

[l] "On the south side of this aisle there are three canopied monuments, the first of a priest, whose effigy rests on a tomb, the side of which is ornamented with sculpture and seven escutcheons of arms set in a row within as many compartments. I am much inclined to suppose this to be the monument of Giraldus, who being a man of high rank, noble birth, and of princely alliance, might have been proud of displaying such pretensions on his tomb."—*Fenton*, p. 89.

[m] "In the wall of the south aisle, under a window facing the roodloft, is an image, much defaced, having the sacerdotal tonsure: it has no inscription; but remains to perpetuate the fame of Giraldus Cambriensis [*sic*], the celebrated Welsh historian, and bishop of this diocese."—*Manby*, pp. 17, 18.

[n] Browne Willis, pp. 19, 20, 67, 68.

On the north of Bishop Vaughan's tomb there is an inscribed gravestone of the last century, containing marks of a small brass plate, which may possibly be more ancient.

In conclusion, something must be said of the date of these tombs, and of the materials of which they are constructed. It will be observed that the earliest effigies are made of a coarse species of oolite,[o] and in two instances of Purbeck marble.[p] The later figures are sculptured in a finer oolite,[q] and there is also one late tomb of Purbeck marble.[r] The intermediate tombs, all in fact which belong to the Decorated era, are wrought in Caerfai stone. This tallies exactly with the results arrived at by an examination of the fabric itself: oolite is occasionally introduced into the finer work in the Early English period; and is almost exclusively used for similar work during the Perpendicular period. But with one or two very trifling exceptions, we have nothing but Caerfai stone throughout the prevalence of the Decorated style.[s] Of the Decorated tombs there are two distinct types. The one is characterized by a canopy for the head of the figure, and panelling on the tomb itself; the other by the absence of any such panelling, by two cushions supported by kneeling angels, the upper one being placed diagonally, on which the head of the figure invariably rests, and by all the architectural features (where any appear) which mark the works of Gower. To the latter type belong Nos. 3, 8, 9, 10, 30, 31, and 35. The last of these has no architectural ornaments remaining, but the figure possesses all the distinctive marks; Nos. 30 and 31, on the other hand, may be referred to Gower from architectural evidence, but the figures are gone. They appear, however, in Archdeacon Yardley's drawings already referred to, with the head in each instance resting on a cushion placed diagonally, a fact which, to judge from his sketches of other tombs, may be regarded as nearly sufficient evidence that they possessed the characteristic support. This support was in two instances partially imitated in later work, and in one instance more completely so. In No. 2, we have a *single* cushion supported by angels, in No. 20 a double cushion, but without the angels: in No. 27 we have a double cushion supported by angels; but here, as in No. 2, the cushion is adorned with tassels. With these apparent exceptions, we may regard the double cushion as marking the age of Bishop Gower. To this age we must also refer No. 33, as it is evidently

General Remarks.

[o] 28, 32, 37. [p] 17, 18. [q] 2, 19, 20, 27. [r] 16.
[s] See above, p. 75.

contemporaneous with the external wall of the south chapel aisle; but it wants the distinctive marks of the period.

To the other type of Decorated tombs we are to refer Nos. 23, 29, and 34; and as the canopy of the tomb last mentioned is cut through by Gower's stringcourse, and is therefore necessarily prior to his alterations in the south choir aisle, we may probably regard them all as a little earlier in date; the more so, as the figures themselves are a little flatter than those which we have attributed to Gower.

One other class of monuments must be noticed as being extremely rare throughout the Principality, and of which, in fact, only the traces remain in this church. There are four matrices of brasses, with marks of a brass on Bishop Vaughan's tomb. Four of these are known to have been of extremely late date, and the remaining one bears marks of having been so, a fact which falls in very well with that of their general rarity throughout the country. We shall have occasion to mention another brass, perhaps of rather earlier date, and still existing, though not *in situ*, in our description of St. Nun's Chapel.

Painted Glass.

There are some very small and unimportant remains of painted glass in the third window of the north aisle of the nave, the only one containing tracery of date prior to the Perpendicular period. This consists of a narrow bordering to the lights, but the pattern can no longer be made out. With this trifling exception, there is nothing of the kind now existing. A large proportion of the windows possessed painted glass at the end of the sixteenth century,[t] and appear to have retained it until the middle of the seventeenth.[u] We have contemporary evidence of its existence in the four windows of the south aisle east of the porch, in some or all of those in the south transept, and in the three windows of the south choir aisle. To these we are to add the most western windows of the north and south chapel aisles respectively, those namely which are opposite to the entrance of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, the east window of the north chapel aisle, one of the windows in the Lady Chapel, and the upper east window of the presbytery. As our authority had no object further than to blazon the arms then existing in the church, we have no evidence to show that the windows contained any further embellishments; but from the fact that they were so unsparingly demolished in the Civil War, one cannot help suspecting

[t] Browne Willis, pp. 76–88.

[u] *Ibid.* p. 88.

that they contained something which was then regarded as idolatrous. For the same reason it cannot now be known whether any of the other windows had painted glass; but we are not without grounds for supposing that it might be nearly confined to those in which it is known to have existed. For the entire southern range of windows, short of those in the south chapel aisle, were reconstructed in the Perpendicular era, and being the show side, might have been adorned with painted glass at the same time. The most western windows of the south nave and choir aisles respectively, seem to have been blocked, and therefore to have lost their glass, before our author's time. The windows of the Lady Chapel were reconstructed at this time; and those opposite to the entrances of Vaughan's Chapel were probably filled with painted glass when that chapel was built. The upper east window of the presbytery was also made at this time; and it is asserted that a large quantity of painted glass, including a series of figures representing the Apostles, was abstracted from it within the memory of man! If the story has any foundation, it shows, among other things, how little was known of St. David's at a very recent period.

Polychrome.

There are remains of painting on the piers of the nave, which were discovered when the pillars and arches were cleared of whitewash.[v] On the third pier from the east on the south side, there are paintings on the south-west and south-east faces. On the former there is a figure of a female saint, within a vesica, seated and vested in a cope, with a nimbus. The figure probably represents the blessed Virgin,[w] and it is seated beneath a canopy, above which there are traces of angels with censers. Underneath it there is an inscription, now illegible.

On the south-east face there is a figure in plate armour with the basanet and camaille, crowned, holding a sword in the right hand, and standing beneath a canopy. The letter H. appears on the left arm, which, taken in connexion with the fashion of the armour, would lead us to suppose that it represents Henry IV.

On the second pier from the east on the north side of the nave, and on the

[v] These piers and arches, with their beautiful capitals and rich mouldings, were thickly encrusted with whitewash, until they were cleaned under the careful superintendence of the Venerable Archdeacon Davies.

[w] See however p. 98.

south-western face of it, there is an achievement of arms, representing a banner bearing a bend, a shield party per chevron, and a casque with crest and mantlings, the crest being a head crowned.

On the corresponding pier of the southern arcade, and on its north-western face, there is a similar achievement. The crest is the same as that on the northern pier; but neither the shield nor the banner can now be made out.

There is a great deal of rich painting in the interior of the Rood-screen, principally foliage and scroll work. In the compartment on the north side of the entrance containing one of the tombs, there is a rather rude fresco of the Crucifixion with St. Mary and St. John, nearly covered with whitewash, upon the wall over the head of the tomb; and opposite to this there is a figure crowned with a nimbus, which probably represented the Resurrection of Christ. The groined roof is painted with the Evangelistic symbols; among which the Angel is remarkably graceful. The names of "Johannes," "Matheus," and "Marcus," are still legible in scrolls. There are also some grotesque figures, including one of a dragon. Over the western arch of the entrance, on its eastern face, there is a ludicrous representation of an owl and two magpies.

It seems that another picture of the Crucifixion was discovered on the Rood-screen, early in the last century;[x] and we have already referred to another which formerly existed in the north transept.[y]

A boss is preserved in the Chapter-house, which seems to have fallen from the roof of the Presbytery: it bears a monogram containing the letters O. P., doubtless the initials of Treasurer Owen Pole, and within it a tree with the letter N., forming a rebus of which we do not at present possess the solution.

Tiles. The whole of the presbytery and the unoccupied portions of the choir, together with the *dais* before the Rood-screen, appear to have been laid with encaustic tiles; but the patterns of those in the presbytery only can be made out with any degree of distinctness. In this part of the church they are for the most part set in diagonal patterns, the larger patterns containing sixteen tiles each. They are principally enclosed in plain borders of purple and yellow tiles, also set diagonally. There has been a good deal of disturbance both in

[x] Men. Sac. I. p. 18, *Note.*

[y] See above, p. 118.

front of the Altar and near St. David's shrine;[z] but in the former position at least there are signs that the prevailing arrangement was interrupted by a border of tiles laid parallel to the wall. Between the parclose and the lowest step a central passage, equal in width to the doorway of the parclose, is marked off by borders running parallel to the walls. West of the parclose the tiles are set square, and a line of flag-stones is laid down the centre of the choir, an arrangement which may or may not be original. The general effect of the patterns in the presbytery is extremely good, especially when they are seen from above, as from the passage beneath the upper east window, or from the galleries in the lantern. The tiles in the *dais* were set diagonally, but were completely worn out, and their place was supplied by modern ones in the year 1848.

The existing tiles belong to the fifteenth century, and it is obvious that they were placed here simultaneously with the general reconstruction of the choir at the era of Bishop Tully, or rather with the erection of the Throne by Bishop Morgan, as their arrangement bears evident relation to the new position of the parclose.[a] They may also be referred by their patterns to the celebrated manufactory at Malvern, a fact which may serve to account for the continual repetition of the arms of the Berkeley family upon them. Among a variety of devices, among which the Tudor rose is prominent, they bear the following arms:—

Edward the Confessor.

Berkeley (frequently).

Beauchamp, with a crescent for difference.

There are also some mutilated inscriptions, among which the words *Deo gratias* are the most frequently repeated.[b]

[z] Between St. David's shrine and the Earl of Richmond's tomb, there are one or two broken tiles shown as the footprints of Cromwell's horse. The tradition has obtained such credence as makes it uncourteous, and scarcely safe, to criticise it.

[a] See above, p. 93.

[b] It is worthy of notice that many of the same patterns occur in the chancel at Carew, in Pembrokeshire, where they were probably placed while the neighbouring castle was in the possession of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. We have found the following coats there:—

See of St. David's.

Berkeley, with the legend *Adjuva nos Domine.*

Sir Rhys ap Thomas.

The coat marked below No. 40.

Some glazed wall tiles are preserved in the north choir aisle, at the back of Treasurer Lloyd's monument. They are plain, of a dark colour, and simply marked with a diagonal line.

Bells.

There are at present only three bells, two of which occupy their proper place in the upper or Perpendicular stage of the tower, the third being placed outside on the leads of the tower. We have an indirect allusion to the excellence of the bells at the commencement of the thirteenth century;[c] but it appears that they were re-cast before the middle of the fourteenth. At that time, it is said, the largest bell was lost at sea,[d] so that they were probably then reduced from the normal number of eight, to seven, which appears to have been their number for some time.[e] We have frequent notices of them in the *Computi*, from which it seems that a fixed annual sum of ten shillings was paid "pro pulsatione magnarum campanarum,"[f] or as it appears when the accounts are kept in English, "for ringing of y^e^ curfey-bell."[g] A respectable sum also seems to have been expended on bell-ropes and "bawdrings."[h] At what time they were further reduced to five, is not quite clear. The evidence of Precentor Ellis does not prove to certainty that this reduction took place before 1691,[i] although it renders it probable, as Treasurer Clavering, who is more trustworthy, returns that number in 1720.[j] We have a monument of this state of things in the form of five pegs affixed to the balustrade which runs round the choir above the canopies of the stalls,[k] to which the bell ropes were formerly belayed. This shows that the bells were formerly rung from the choir, as one is still. At that time, says Mr. Fenton, "one about four hundred-weight tolled to prayers, the other four belonged to an entire peal, and had a treble and a tenor; the biggest then remaining was twenty-two hundred-weight."[l] These are in all

[c] Anglia Sacra, II. p. 576.

[d] "The bells were new cast in Gower's time, when the largest in taking down was said to have cracked the tower, and was lost at sea."—*Fenton*, p. 83.

[e] Browne Willis, p. 17.

[f] Lib. Comm. I. p. 15.

[g] Lib. Comm. I. p. 31.

[h] *Ibid.* pp. 16, 23, 31, 40.

[i] "We have five Bells as I take it: but how tunable I know not; y^e^ Tower being high & y^e^ Staires strait, I cannot tell how to venter to view them."—*Reg. E. ad finem.*

[j] "The Bells in number are 5, one or two of them is cracked."—*Reg. G. ad finem.*

[k] See above, p. 87.

[l] Fenton, p. 83. Browne Willis' account is rather premature. He tells us that the tower "contain'd formerly seven Bells but now it has no more than three, and even these cannot be

probability "the four large bells" which, in 1748, the Chapter ordered to be taken down, "they being cracked and unfit for use, and likewise endangering the Fabric by their Weight."[m] The order was only partially executed, for in 1765 they directed that "the two bells which are taken down sho[d] be sold and disposed of and the money arising therefrom To be applied for the repair of the Church."[n] Twenty years later one Mr. Richard Robert was appointed "to be the agent to sel and Dispose of the Bells to get a new one Cast, and to Inspect into the repairs of the Church."[o] Mr. Robert's mediation appears to have been unavailing, as we have still the three bells which survived the order of 1765, and one of them at least is hopelessly cracked; so that, to cite the words of Mr. Manby, the force of which is by no means diminished by the lapse of half a century, "when rung" they "puzzle the hearer to determine whether they are intended to utter expressions of joy or sorrow."[p]

Clock.

The clock is placed in the Rood-loft, but strikes the hour on the small bell on the top of the tower, a process invariably accompanied by a singular rattling and groaning sound, suggestive of a deranged mechanism. It had formerly two dial-plates, one towards the choir and the other towards the nave; but the latter has been recently removed, a fact which we accept as an omen of its total demolition. The earlier *Computi* give us frequent notices of it, from which it appears to have been at that time an object of considerable importance, as there is a regular annual charge of ten shillings, amounting however in one year to twice that sum, "pro custodiend? Le Clocke."[q] We find other occasional expenses incurred on its account, and among others a payment of two shillings in 1565, to Richard Smyth "for moving of y[e] clock and bringing of y[e] same to his place again."[r] Those who have been present in the choir at the time of prayers will probably express a wish that the latter part of the performance had been omitted. However the clock disappeared entirely before the end of the seventeenth century,—Precentor Ellis is positive as to this,[s]—only to re-appear

rung. The Bell that tolls to Church is a very sorry one, and the Bell-Windows having been lately almost stop'd up to secure the Building, it very difficultly is to be heard even at hand." —p. 17.

[m] Reg. H. p. 207. [n] *Ibid.* p. 415. [o] Reg. I. p. 53.
[p] Manby, p. 32. [q] Lib. Comm. I. pp. 15, 21. [r] *Ibid.* p. 40.
[s] "We haue no clocke, and how we are obliedged to haue one I know not."—*Reg. E. ad finem.*

at the commencement of the eighteenth, when it is pronounced by Treasurer Clavering, who seems throughout to take a cheerful view of things, to be "in good order."[t] A date over the entrance to the choir probably enables us to fix 1705 as the era of its unhappy restoration.[u]

Heraldry.

We are fortunate in possessing an account of the heraldic insignia remaining in the Cathedral at the close of the sixteenth century. These decorations are of such importance in making out the history of a church, that we have judged it best to give all the coats described in Browne Willis' work, enclosing those in brackets which are no longer to be found. As a matter of convenience we preserve the order in which they are there blazoned, and distinguish each coat by a numeral referring to Browne Willis' plate of arms.

The Royal arms, France and England quarterly, are not given in the plate, but occurred in several parts of the church, and still remain in more than one, viz.—on the roof of the presbytery, [and in a south window of the Lady Chapel: in a window of the south transept, within the Garter:] on the roof of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, under an imperial crown, with supporters, viz.—*dexter, a greyhound ar: collared gu: sinister, a dragon gu:*—for Henry VII.: [in the first window from the east of the south aisle, and the second window of the south choir aisle, with a label of three points: in the window last mentioned, with a label of five points; and again, within a bordure argent.]

To these we must add the following Royal badges painted on one of the tie-beams of the presbytery, which are not noticed by Browne Willis:

A hart ar:—for Edward IV. or V.

A boar ar: bristled or—for Richard III.

A dragon gu:—repeatedly, for Henry VII.

1. *Sa: on a cross or, 5 cinquefoils pierced of the field*—The See of St. David's.

This coat occurs alone on the roofs of the south aisle, presbytery, and Lady Chapel; [and formerly in a window of the south transept.]

2. *Sa: a chevron between 3 roses ar:*—"Had the field been *gules*, it would have been the Coat of *Roderic* the *Great*."[v]

Roofs of the south aisle, the presbytery, the Lady Chapel and its antechapel.

[t] Reg. G. *ad finem.*

[u] See above, p. 87.

[v] Browne Willis, p. 75. See Enderbie, *Cambria Triumphans.*

[Most eastern window of south choir aisle; and the second window from the east of the south aisle.]

3. *Gu: a bend between* 6 *croslets fitchy ar:*—Howard.
Roof of Lady Chapel.

4. *Gu: a fess between* 6 *cross-croslets or*, 3, 2, 1—Beauchamp.*
Roof of Lady Chapel. Tiles in Presbytery (with a crescent for difference.)

[Window of south chapel aisle opposite to Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.]

[5. *On a chevron between* 3 *martlets as many mullets pierced*—Attributed by Browne Willis to Bishop David Martyn.
Roof of Lady Chapel.]

[6. *Or, an escallop ppr:, on a chief sa:* 3 *martlets of the field*—Wogan (?)
Roof of Lady Chapel.]

[7. *On a chevron between* 3 *pears ppr:* 3 *feathers (?)*
Roof of Lady Chapel.]

[8. *Per pale, baron and femme; dexter, sa: a chevron ar: between* 3 *escallops; sinister, az: a wolf salient ar:*—Bateman, impaling Maenyrch Goch, Lord of Brycheiniog; the latter borne by Donne of Picton.
Roof of Lady Chapel.]

9. *Gyronny of* 8 *ar: and sa:, on a saltire or between* 4 *fleurs-de-lis counter-changed*, 5 *cinquefoils pierced gu:*—Edward Vaughan, Bishop of St. David's.
Roofs of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, and of the antechapel to the Lady Chapel, impaling the See, beneath a mitre. [Windows of south transept, and of Lady Chapel on the south side.]

10. *Ar: a chevron sa: between* 3 *ravens ppr:*—Sir Rhys ap Thomas.
Roof of south aisle, and encircled by the Garter in that of the antechapel.

[11. *Or*, 3 *piles in point az:*—Reginald Brian, Bishop of St. David's.
Window of north chapel aisle, opposite Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.]

[12. *Quarterly; 1st & 4th, barry of* 6 *ar: and az: an orle of martlets gu:; 2d & 3d, or, a maunch gu:*—Valence quartering Hastings: borne by John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.
East window of north chapel aisle.]

[13. *Or, a lion rampant gu: within a bordure gobony ar: and gu:*—Grey, Lord of Powys.
Upper east window of presbytery.]

* George Owen gives "five cross croselettes," but erroneously.—*Sir Thomas Phillips' MS.*

[14. *Gu: a lion rampant or, within a bordure of the second*—Grey, Lord of Powys.

Upper east window of presbytery.]

15. *Or, a lion rampant, gu:*—Charlton, Lord of Powys.

Roof of presbytery, [and upper east window.]

16. *Az: a rose between* 3 *swan's heads erased ar:*—Robert Tully, Bishop of St. David's.

Roof of presbytery, impaling the See. Poppy-head adjoining the decanal stall. [Upper east window of presbytery.]

17. *Per fess or and ar:, in base* 2 *bars wavy az:, a chief of the second, in the lower part on a fillet of the third* 3 *martlets of the first*—Richard Martyn, Bishop of St. David's.

Roof of presbytery, impaling the See. [Upper east window of presbytery.]

18. *Quarterly France and England, within a bordure az: enaluron of martlets or*—Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.

Roof of presbytery. [South choir aisle, third window from the east, impaling No. 19.]

19. *Quarterly France and England, within a bordure gobony ar: and az:*—Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond.

Roof of presbytery. [South choir aisle, third window from the east, impaled with No. 18.]

20. *Az:* 3 *crowns or,* 2 *over* 1.

Roof of presbytery.

21. *Vert, a cross flory ar:, in the dexter chief the Blessed Virgin and Child sceptred ppr:*—Abbey of Glastonbury.[x]

Roof of presbytery.

22. *Az: a cross flory between* 5 *martlets or*—Edward the Confessor: Abbey of Westminster.

Roof and tiles of presbytery.[y]

23. *Az: a cross fitchy or*—"Cadwaladr Fendigaid."

Roof of presbytery.

[x] This is probably the coat intended by George Owen; "*Azure a plain cross A on the dexter point a thing like a bell or towre O.*"—*Sir Thomas Phillips' MS.* At present only the cross-flory can be made out.

[y] This coat is blazoned but not engraved in Browne Willis, whose No. 22 is a conjectural emendation of No. 21.

24. *Or, a lion rampant within a bordure gu :*—"This is the [ancient] Coat of the Kings of *Scotland*, set here possibly by Command of *Henry Hastings*, sometime Earl of *Pembroke*, who married *Adela*, Daughter and Heir to *David* Earl of Huntingdon."[z] This may be the right explanation, although our author is guilty of an architectural anachronism.

Roof of presbytery.

[25. *Gu : a chevron between* 3 *pears pendant or.*

Roof of presbytery.]

[26. *Ar : a cross gu :*—"St. George's Cross."

South choir aisle, first window from the east.]

[27. *Az : a cross flory or, in the dexter chief man's head ppr :*—or as it is given by the earlier authority, *Az : a cross patonce between* 4 *leopard's heads or.*

South choir aisle, first window from the east.]

[28. *Gu : a lion rampant or, within a bordure engrailed of the second.*—Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales.

South choir aisle, first window from the east.][a]

[29. *Barry of* 6 *or and az :, an inescocheon ar :, on a chief of the second two pallets between as many gyrons of the first*—Mortimer.

South choir aisle, third window from the east.]

[30. *Or, a chevron gu :*—Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

South choir aisle, third window from the east.]

[31. *Or, a griffin segreant gu :*—Ivor Hael, borne by John Morgan, *alias* Young, Bishop of St. David's.

Window of south transept: quarterly with No. 32, on the Bishop's Throne.]

[32. *Az : a chevron between* 3 *greyhounds courant ar :*—Gwion Benarw.

Quarterly with No. 31, on the Bishop's Throne.]

[33. *Ar : a griffin's head erased gu :*

Stalls.]

[34. *Sa : a spear's head between three scaling ladders ar :*—Cadwgan of Canog.

Stalls.]

[z] Browne Willis, p. 82.

[a] It may have occurred elsewhere, at least the following words of George Owen look like it:—"Rees ap Teder his yelow lion diverse tymes."—*Sir Thomas Phillips' MS.*

[35. *Ar: on a chief gu: 3 martlets or*—Wogan.
Stalls.]

[36. *Gu: a lion rampant ar:*
Stalls.]

[37. *Ar: a lion rampant gu:*
Stalls. Window of south transept.]

[38. *Gu: on a fess ar: 3 martlets sa:*[b]
Window of south transept.]

[39. *Az: 3 pears pendant ar:, out of a chief of the second a lion issuant of the field*—Perrot.
Window of south transept.]

[40. *Gyronny of 8, on a cross counterchanged ar: and az:, 5 crescents or*—Thomas Lloyd, Precentor of St. David's.
Window of south transept.]

[41. *Gu: a chevron between 3 true-love's-knots ar:*—Bowen.
Window of south transept.]

[42. *Quarterly; 1st and 4th, paly of 6 ar: and az:, a bend or; 2d & 3d, az: a chevron between 3 crescents or*—Stradling and Berkerolles.
Another window of south transept.]

[43. *Quarterly, 1st and 4th;* Stradling as before, with a mullet for difference; *2d, chequy ar: and gu: a fess ermine; 3d*, Berkerolles as before. The second coat is for Turberville.

This is given by Browne Willis as occurring in one of the Canon's houses, and we shall have occasion to mention it in connexion with the Chancellor's house. We are informed however by George Owen that it existed in the south transept "in a very hie window, hard to be perceived," a fact which may help to account for his having blazoned it inaccurately.][c]

[44. *Per pale, baron and femme; dexter, a chevron between 3 falcons or; sinister, sa: a lion rampant ar:*—The sinister is ascribed by Browne Willis to Carn-Lloyd of Glamorganshire.[d]
Window of south transept.]

[45. *Per chevron flory ar: and az:*
South aisle, second window from the east.]

[b] George Owen calls them "3 *ravens proper.*"—*Sir Thomas Phillips' MS.* [c] *Ibid.*
[d] Browne Willis, p. 200.

[46. *Gu:* 3 *roaches naiant in pale ar:*—Picton.
South aisle, second window from the east.]

[47. *Ar: a lion rampant gu:*—"Morgan ap Meredith."
South aisle, second window from the east.]

[48. *Az: on a fess between* 3 *covered cups or, as many Cornish choughs*—Butler of Coed Cenlas.
South aisle, third window from the east.]

[49. *Gu: a fret ar:, on a chief or a lion passant sa:*—Malefant.
South aisle, third window from the east.][e]

[50. *Gu: a chevron between* 3 *towers ar:*—Jenkin ab Eynon, of Henllan.
South aisle, third window from the east.]

[51. *Ar: a chevron between* 3 *maunches sa:*—Mansel.
Separately, and impaling No. 52, south aisle, fourth window from the east.]

[52. *Gu:* 3 *bars or.*
Separately, and impaling No. 51, south aisle, fourth window from the east.]

Full as this list is, it is by no means complete, and we are able to supply some of its deficiencies from the labours of the antiquary George Owen, who enumerates the following coats in addition to many of those which have been mentioned:[f]—

Ar: a saltire sa:
Window of south transept.

Ar: a lion rampant sa: chained or—Philipps.
Window of south transept.

Per pale, baron and femme; dexter, ar: a chevron sa: between 3 *ravens ppr:; sinister, gu: a lion rampant ar:*—Sir Rhys ap Thomas, impaling Mowbray; "quere how this maredg might be?"
Window of south transept, within the Garter.

To these he adds the following coats; although it is not clear whether they are different from each other, or from others already described:—

"*A a lion rampant Gules, the point of cuue turnid in.*

"*O a lion rampant G the tail bowed in*—in many places of the churche."

[e] George Owen gives this coat, "*Gu: a fret or.*"—*Sir Thomas Phillips' MS.* [f] *Ibid.*

Lastly, the following coats which still exist, have escaped the notice of both our antiquaries:—

A cross couped between 4 *roses.*

Roof of south aisle.

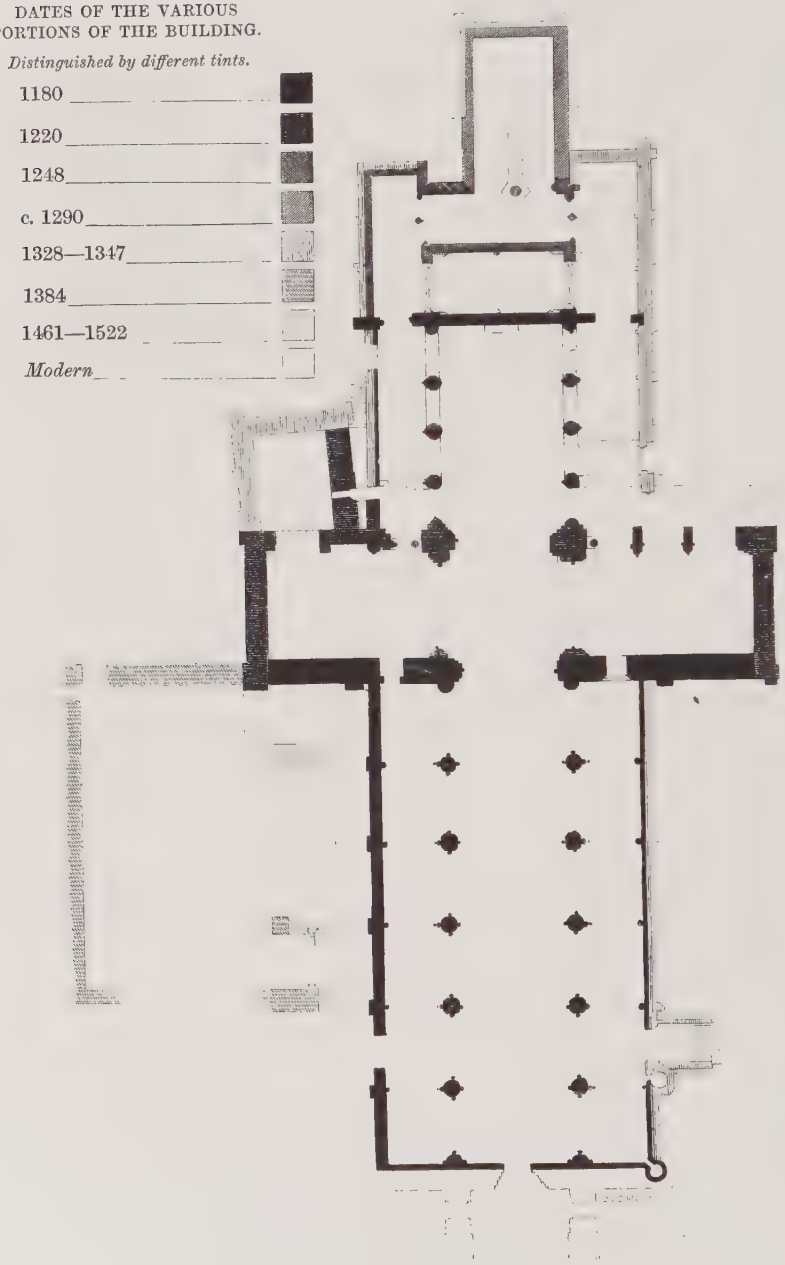
A lion rampant within a bordure entoyer of croslets fitchy and annulets alternately—Probably for Owen Pole, Treasurer of St. David's.

Poppy-head adjoining the Treasurer's stall.

Gu: a chevron between 10 *crosses pattée*, 4, 3, 2, 1, *ar*:—Berkeley.[2]

Tiles of the choir and presbytery.

[2] See above, p. 129.


DATES OF THE VARIOUS PORTIONS OF THE BUILDING.
Distinguished by different tints.
1180
1220
1248
c. 1290
1328—1347
1384
1461—1522
Modern

GROUND PLAN.

CHAPTER V.

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL.

The historian of St. David's is fortunate, in the commencement of this portion of his work, in not having, as in so many other instances, to combat any received opinion attributing an exaggerated antiquity to the building. Even Celtic nationality has shrunk from attributing so vast and magnificent a fabric to the early native Princes and Bishops; and it would require no great amount of acumen to show the impropriety of applying the term "Saxon" to the buildings of a country which was never subjected to the internal sway of the Saxon kings. At all events, antiquaries, from the days of Godwin downwards, have been content to attribute the earliest portions of the existing fabric to the time of Bishop Peter de Leiâ, who was consecrated in 1176, and who is recorded to have rebuilt his Cathedral after it had "beene often destroyed in former times by Danes and other pyrats, and in his time was almost quite ruinated."[a] There is of course no probability of any remains existing of the probably small and rude British structure which may have preceded the Norman invasion, but it does not at first sight agree with the ascertained history of other cathedrals, to find not only no certain traces at present, but no distinct record preserved, of the erection of any structure between the consecration of the first Norman Bishop in 1115 and the re-edification under Peter de Leiâ, to which we undoubtedly owe a very large portion of the present church. It is however necessary, at this stage of the argument, to draw attention to a statement, on which it is only wonderful that more theories have not been built up, as to the

[a] Godwin, p. 219.

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existence of a Norman structure prior to the present one. In the *Annales Menevenses*, which are, for a long space of time, our principal, and indeed most invaluable, guide to the architectural history, we find a "dedication of the Church of St. David" recorded as having been celebrated in the year 1131, during the episcopate of Bernard, the first Norman Prelate.[b] But, as the architectural world has been informed by Professor Willis, in his lecture at Wells, such a "dedicatio" does not necessarily imply any building or rebuilding immediately precedent; and in this case we have a ready explanation in the formal canonization of St. David at this time by Pope Calixtus II., which would naturally be celebrated by some such ceremony in his own church. Besides, this sort of implication is hardly the way in which so important a work as the reconstruction of the Cathedral would have been recorded in a document, which with all its brevity, generally enters far more into particulars.

Even if it should be contended that a church was erected here between 1115 and 1180, the fact is of comparatively little consequence, as the reconstruction of the building which commenced in the latter year, is undoubted, and no traces remain in the present church which there is any inducement to refer to an earlier period. The work of this date, we may safely infer from the *Annales*,[c] as well as from the evidence of the building itself, involved a complete destruction of whatever was then standing, whether of British or Norman origin. It certainly had no such influence on the present Cathedral as the small building erected by Urban has so conspicuously had upon the existing Church of Llandaff. But, on the whole, the amount of evidence, both intrinsic and extrinsic, seems in favour of the belief that no such intervening structure ever existed, and that the large and splendid edifice of which the nave still remains was the immediate successor of the small and dilapidated Cathedral of the native Saints and Primates.

And we may indeed imagine that there were many circumstances about the see of St. David's which may well have damped even the proverbial church-building ardour of a Norman Prelate. The utterly unsettled state of the half-conquered country would throw many obstacles in the way of great architectural undertakings; and the Church of St. David's, after its frequent destructions, may well have lain desolate for a while, just as that of Bangor

[b] Anglia Sacra, II. 649.

[c] "Anno MCLXXX. Ecclesia Menevensis diruitur, et novum opus inchoatur."—*Ibid.*

did, from similar causes, in a much later and more civilized age. Besides, the character of Bishop Bernard, as transmitted to us by Giraldus,[d] seems rather against the supposition that he at least would be disposed to rival the great works of the day in England, or even those of his contemporary Urban at Llandaff. When we remember the stately pile which owes its origin to the labours of Ralph Flambard,[e] one would not regard ordinary moral obliquity as supplying any *à priori* difficulty; but alienation of the revenues of his see, and a restless hankering after some higher preferment, are certainly not the qualities which one would expect to result in the foundation of a cathedral church.

First Period, Transitional—1180.

The church of De Leiâ appears to have exactly answered to the present main fabric of the Cathedral, the nave, choir, and transepts, with their aisles, but exclusive of the subordinate chapels. Of these, the nave and the western arch of the lantern still exist, and the remainder appears to have been rebuilt on his plan, and to a great extent, in imitation of his structure. Godwin therefore is fairly justified in saying that he "may in some sort be said to have built the church which now standeth." The extent of his church eastward appears to be shown by a small fragment, the only one east of the western arch of the lantern which can be assigned to this date, but this is one of no small importance. The east walls of the choir aisles, between them and the chapel aisles, though much altered by successive insertions, yet appear, in the most essential parts of their masonry, to be contemporary with the nave. Yet this part of the church is full of difficulties on any supposition. The wall exhibits, below the present roof-line, the earlier one, which, as we shall presently see, it retained till the fourteenth century, resting against the same point on the choir walls, but of much steeper slope, and consequently involving much lower walls in the aisles. Below this is a round arch, looking just like one of those traced out for vaulting, and below it the arch of a round-headed window, blocked and cut through by the arch leading into the chapel aisle. If this be a vaulting arch, there would be *primâ facie* evidence in favour of the belief that it must belong to a structure anterior to the present choir, afforded by the

[d] De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ.—*Ang. Sac.* II. pp. 534, 535.

[e] To this worthy minister of the Red King we owe the noble Norman nave of Christ Church in Hampshire.

fact that the arches of the latter rise far above it, and consequently no roof of which it formed a part could possibly have co-existed with them. But on the other hand, we shall find the same difficulty occurring where the two discordant elements are clearly contemporary, and there is even reason to believe that in some parts of the church the intention of vaulting was given up by reason of the impossibility of carrying out the contemplated design. Yet there is good reason to believe that we here have a relic of the earlier choir contemporary with the nave. For this arch, unlike the other arches of only contemplated vaulting throughout the church, is not merely traced against the wall, but is a real moulded rib. And moreover it has evidently been tampered with during the Transitional rebuilding; it has been patched with a moulding of somewhat different section, and made to rest on a much later capital, one of the most advanced of the second date, having a round abacus. The first fact certainly seems to prove both propositions, that this arch belongs to Bishop De Leiâ's work, and that it was altered during the Transitional changes. One can only conceive it retained at that period, in order to give greater effect to the window below.

This fragment then seems sufficient to prove that the extent of De Leiâ's choir was identical with that at present existing, and that the east end was flat. It also, as being a moulded rib, does not prove, but certainly tends to encourage the belief, that the choir aisles of this period were actually vaulted. Whether this be so or not, Peter de Leià certainly set, both in the aisles of his nave and in the nave itself, an example which seems to have found many imitators among the subsequent benefactors of St. David's, namely that of tracing out lines of vaulting, which from some cause or other, they failed actually to accomplish. It is not improbable that in his case this failure was connected with an original miscalculation in the design. His vaulting shafts exist all down the aisles, and at the east end the arch springing from them is traced out; but it seems quite impossible that the system thus suggested could ever have been carried out, as the apex of the arch against the east wall falls very much lower than that of the pier arch, so that a vault of the strangest and most uncouth kind would have been the result. One can only suppose that, in planning the nave, the effect which the vast width of the pier arches would have upon the vaulting, which, as usual, was left for the last thing, was altogether forgotten.

NORTH AISLE OF THE CHOIR

Nor was the design for sexpartite vaulting, which was traced out over the nave itself, characterized by a greater degree of wisdom; as the apices of the lateral cells were made much lower than those of the transverse arches, as we see by the present ceiling, whose impost coincides with the apices, cutting off so much of the western arch of the lantern. Had such a vault ever been carried into execution, the effect would have been extremely unsightly.

The evidence afforded by the appearances at the east end of the choir aisles, and indeed by the vaulting system generally, is sufficient to show that the original aisles had very much lower external walls than at present, and, consequently, very much steeper lean-to roofs. The original roof-line comes almost exactly to the same point as the capitals of the later vaulting shafts. Externally, on the north side, we may suppose that the wide lower portion of the pilasters represents their original supports, and that they were heightened as we now see them when the aisle walls were raised. The single one of the same width throughout[f] is no greater difficulty, whether we think it was originally narrower than the others, or was altogether constructed at the later date. At the junction of the north aisle and north transept, there is also a piece of projecting ashlar (looking at first sight almost like a flat respond with the spring of its arch) which agrees with the first height of the aisles, and is probably a member of the same set of pilasters. At the north-west angle internally there is an appearance somewhat like a flat pilaster; most probably a small portion of De Leia's wall, left when the upper part was rebuilt of a smaller thickness in the fourteenth century; connected with this is some change or patching in the strings, which it is not easy to account for, nor indeed to ascertain the date or character of one of the strings, so completely is it defaced. At the corresponding point on the south side is another pilaster ranging with the *later* vaulting shafts, and which doubtless was designed to act as one of them; yet it is probably a portion of De Leia's work, connected with the staircase turret which then, as now, occupied the south-west corner of the nave. It rises higher than De Leia's vault, but not higher than his wall, and, as the vault was never completed, shows no mark of any roof against it.

How long the work commenced in 1180 took before it was completed, we

[f] See p. 53.

have no means of ascertaining. There is however reason to believe that it was still in progress about the year 1190, as in a document executed shortly after the death of Henry II. a contribution to the works then going on in the Cathedral was allowed as a substitute for going to the Crusade.[g] Perhaps indeed as a portion of the church is spoken of as "new" in 1220, we may venture to infer that it had not been brought to perfection very long before that time. So great a work would doubtless be spread over a considerable space of time, and it may not even have been accomplished during the episcopate of De Leiâ; but that the whole nave at least was erected from the design commenced by him, can admit of no doubt. The whole is clearly of a piece throughout, with the exception of the western pair of arches. These, it will be remembered, are pointed, and exhibit some differences in detail from the others; what is especially remarkable, the bases of their responds do not present at all the same confirmed Early English section as those of the piers. But there is no reason to believe these arches to be either earlier or later than the rest. The base employed is very common throughout the church, being the prevailing one in the vaulting shafts of the nave; and if miscalculation of the ground, or any other cause, accidental or designed, required these arches to be narrower than the rest, the natural mode of preserving comparative uniformity would be to bring them to the same level as the others in point of height by the employment of the pointed arch. For it must be remembered that the pointed arch was freely used in contemporary buildings, and we have

[g] "Venerabili in Christo Patri Baldwino Dei gratiâ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo et omnibus ad quos literæ præsentes pervenerint, Johannes Anagninus eâdem gratiâ titulo S. Marci Presbyter Cardinalis, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, æternam in Domino salutem. Veniens ad nos Giraldus de Sancto David Archidiaconus ex parte suâ et venerabilis fratris nostri Petri Menevensis Episcopi nobis proposuit; quòd cùm eis ex parte Henrici Anglorum Regis spes si Jerosolimam secum vellent adire, in expensis quas in prædictâ viâ facerent non modica facta esset; prædicto siquidem Rege sublato de medio, votum præconceptum, cùm eis expensæ non suppetant, peragere minimè possunt. Nos igitur paupertati tam prædictorum Episcopi & Archidiaconi quam aliorum Walensium, qui ad votum præconceptum peragendum per se non sufficiunt, taliter duximus consulendum; quòd in propriis personis ire non possint, de bonis divinitus sibi collatis Jerosolimam euntibus tribuant, & ad reparationem Ecclesiæ Menevensis operam impendant & auxilium. Præfatos quoque Episcopum & Archidiaconum propter ætatis defectum vel paupertatem à prætaxato itinere Jerosolimitamo auctoritate nobis concessâ sub eadem dispensatione duximus absolvendos, & penitus denuntiamus absolutos; istâ tamen [conditione] quòd Jerosolimam accedentibus auxilium præbeant et adjutorium. Illud item de populo sibi commisso facimus."—*Ang. Sac.* II. 495.

it even here both in the triforium and in the contemplated vaulting of the nave. Hence we are not driven to suppose, as we otherwise might easily have done, that this form of arch was introduced as a novelty into this part of the nave, which would naturally be the last portion of the church brought to perfection.

Of De Leiâ's west front we are left to patch up our account from the indications still remaining in the wall, and from some old and not very accurate engravings. That the aisles had at their west ends round windows of some sort is clear, but there may be some question as to their date; it would seem however from Grose's engraving, copied by Mr. Manby, that the lower half of each was blocked, and common Perpendicular or other tracery, perhaps contemporaneous with that in the north clerestory, thrust into the upper part. Taken together with the splay at present existing in the north aisle, this may afford evidence that the round windows are original. The angles of the aisles and of the nave itself had quadrangular turrets; the former certainly, and the latter in all probability, terminating in pinnacles. The turrets of the aisles must have contained staircases lighted by loops or small windows towards the west: those of the nave were adorned with blank arcades in two tiers, corresponding with those of the windows. The arches of the lower arcade were pointed, the upper ones are doubtful. There was a great doorway in the centre under a semicircular arch of several orders, how adorned there is no evidence to show. Above this there were, as we have said, two tiers of windows. The lower tier consisted of an arcade of three equal semicircular arches probably resting on engaged shafts, and pierced by long narrow windows which seem to have had round heads. Over this we have a composition of five unequal lancets. Finally there is a single lancet set in the gable. We may perhaps conclude from the contemporary evidence of Archdeacon Yardley, that this composition of lights, with the probable exception of the single lancet in the head, which must have been meant to air the roof, was under a single containing arch;[h] and that may have been the present rear arch of Mr. Nash's window.

[h] "The Nave hath a Very Large Window over y^e^ west Door."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 15. Seen from within, and the writer is describing the interior, such a composition might be regarded as a large window. The western quintuplet of Berkeley Church, Gloucestershire, is a nearly analogous example.

CHAP. V.

CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

Second Period, Transitional—1220.

The next great event in the history of St. David's Cathedral is the fall of the newly erected tower, which our authority enables us accurately to fix to the year 1220.[i] A similar event, as we know, took place at Winchester[j] about a century earlier, and bears witness, as Professor Willis has observed, to the small degree of mechanical skill or foresight which the builders of this period often displayed, leading, in many instances, to various subsequent devices to remedy the original error. Nowhere is this more egregiously shown than at St. David's; whatever may have been the faults of De Leia's original tower, certainly no architects ever displayed a smaller degree of wisdom than those

A much more important question with regard to the western termination of the Cathedral has occurred to the Authors since this chapter was written, and since their last visit to St. David's. The following extract from Giraldus seems to regard the assertion (true at the present day in all its parts) that St. David's Cathedral had but "one tower and bad bells," as being, about the year 1200, sufficient to convict a witness of perjury and subornation:—

"Proditor autem Landavensis Ivorus primus de non Menevensibus examinatus, interrogatus de situ Menevensis Ecclesiæ, dixit, quod sita erat in colle quodam & procul a mari, & quod non habebat nisi unam turrim & campanas malas. Unde & hunc testem mendacem & subornatum fuisse quidem evidens erat."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 576.

Without in the least forgetting Dr. Maitland's famous case of "non inveni nisi unum missale," we should certainly conclude from the above extract that the cathedral had at that time more than one tower. Now certain phænomena at the west end of the church had once led us, in ignorance of this passage, to imagine that it originally had, or was designed to have, western towers; but we soon found, as we thought, sufficient reason to give up that view. The appearances which seemed favourable to such a belief were the pilasters, &c., within and without the west bay, (see above, pp. 53, 143,) which the reader may have observed that we had some difficulty in accounting for on other grounds; and the western pair of pointed arches, which have the effect of making the bays over which the towers would stand of a shape better adapted to their reception. But on the other hand there was what appeared the insuperable difficulty that we could find no sign of the eastern arches of the towers across the aisles.—(See *Llandaff Cathedral*, p. 67.) We therefore gave up this idea till it was again suggested to us by the passage in Giraldus.

We must here leave the question for the present; whether Giraldus refers to mere *turrets* and not what we should generally call *towers*, or whether some traces may exist which have escaped our notice, we will not undertake to decide. We must throw ourselves upon the indulgence of our readers for not undertaking an additional journey to settle a single point.

We shall hereafter come to evidence showing that a detached campanile was commenced in the thirteenth century, but the same evidence tends to show that it could hardly have existed so early as 1200.

[i] "Anno MCCXX. Translatio S. Thomæ Martyris Id. Julii. Nova Turris Menevensis Ecclesiæ die Lunæ ante Festum S. Martini, nemine mortuo vel læso, statim post Vesperas in ruinam improvisam versa est."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 650.

[j] Willis' Winchester, pp. 18, 32.

who went about to reconstruct it. For, instead of rebuilding the whole lantern from the foundation, the old western arch, though itself far from secure, was retained. This fact is shown, not only by the difference in style between it and the other three, but by the still surer evidence of the masonry; the two eastern angles bond in together, while a most marked seam shows the difference of masonry between the western arch and the others. The result of this has been that the tower has been in a condition which may be called dangerous for six hundred years, and it is wonderful that none of the successive additions made to its height have fairly brought it down once more. That its insecure condition was known to those who made them is clear from the precautions which they have taken of making arches of construction in the west wall, which do not appear in the others.

The fall of the tower appears to have crushed the choir and transepts, so as to necessitate a complete rebuilding, or at least a repair very nearly amounting thereto. For to the same date as the three pointed arches of the lantern, we can hardly fail to assign the arcades and lower east window of the choir, and at least the eastern walls of the transepts. All this, as we shall see, must have been erected between 1220 and 1248. The greater part of the western walls of the transepts might be either of this date or of that of De Leià, so slight is the change of style between the two, but the walls between the nave aisles and the transepts, with their doorways, we may safely set down as part and parcel of the nave itself.

Some remarks on the architecture of this period, especially as exhibited in the transepts, have been made in a former chapter.[k] It is certainly very unusual to find so much of Romanesque character retained in so great a church at so late a period; but the date seems historically fixed; and, after all, we must remember that there is no real difficulty in work being of an earlier character than is usual at its date; it is only supposing an old fashioned taste in the district or in the architect employed. Numerous cases occur of adaptation to earlier work, and of actual returns to earlier forms, at periods much more distant than we have here supposed. And in this very Transitional work we have here and there pure Early English details intermingled, as for instance occasional round abaci and the decorative arcade in the lantern. This latter is

[k] See above, p. 64.

curious, because, contrary to the usual rule, the decorative work is in advance of the constructive. Over the western Norman arch is a pointed arcade otherwise Norman; over the other Transitional ones a nearly pure Early English one, yet each is clearly contemporary with the constructive feature below. The Early English base, which occurs even in the nave, was not likely to be discontinued in the choir. Altogether it is clear that the architect was not unacquainted with the prevalent style of his day, though, for some reason or other, he decided, or others decided for him, to build in one a few degrees earlier. The probability is that De Leià's work was strictly followed in the reconstruction, with very little innovation, beyond the confirmed employment of the pointed arch, which had come into more general use during the interval. The same local school may very likely have continued throughout, and, if we construe "nova turris" very strictly, some of the same workmen may even have been employed upon the work of the two periods. Still, where the new work is more removed from the immediate contact of the earlier building, it approaches more nearly to the ordinary style of the period; we have seen this both in the general architecture of the transepts, and in the particular details of the eastern triplet.

The arcades of the choir present one of the greatest architectural difficulties in the whole building. This is to be found in the shafts with distinct capitals attached to their faces towards the aisles. These at once suggest those which occupy a similar position to them in the nave, and which answer to them in actual height; but in the nave they are the full height of the pier, and are clearly vaulting shafts, whereas in the choir, owing to the greater height of the piers, they are considerably lower, having their capitals distinctly finished some way beneath the neck moulding of the pier. They cannot be vaulting shafts, nor yet supports for arches thrown across the aisles; for it is clear from the height of the arches[1] that no vaulting was designed at this period, and either of these arrangements would have interfered with the capitals of the pier above. The most natural supposition would be that the choir piers were not entirely rebuilt during this second period, but were simply lengthened, as in the choir of Tewkesbury, and that these shafts are parts of the original pier of

[1] The then height of the aisle walls was too small to have admitted any vault which could have co-existed with the pier arches. Hence also the absence of a triforium in this part of the church.

the first period, and mark its height, exactly corresponding with the spring of the old vaulting arch against the east wall. In this case every difficulty would be removed; they would exactly answer to the similar shafts in the nave and, like them, might be unhesitatingly set down as vaulting shafts. But the objection to this view is that the masonry of the whole pier appears to be of one piece, and exhibits none of those breaks and seams which could hardly fail to be visible, if such an alteration had been effected. We must therefore for the present be content to leave it as an unsolved difficulty, and suppose that they may have been intended for some such use as pillar brackets, though even for that purpose the presence of the capital of the pier almost immediately above would seem to be strangely inconvenient.

But the clerestory of the choir is not of this date. On an attentive examination, lines of arches may be traced rising from the Transitional vaulting shafts, which would have cut through the present clerestory windows. This is very clear at the north-west angle, adjoining the lantern, and may be seen sufficiently, though more faintly, elsewhere. We may safely set these down as the vaulting arches of the second period, contemporary with the existing piers, which therefore show that the choir, as it stood between 1220 and 1248, was somewhat lower than at present. We may imagine the clerestory windows to have been short round-headed apertures, which at the next reparation, were lengthened and furnished with pointed heads, without any change in their detail.

Postponing for a while our narrative of the change of which this constituted a part, we must return to the eastern arcades of the transepts, which we have settled to be of this date, and the mention of which leads us to an important feature in the history of the Cathedral. The alterations and additions carried out at this period were not simply confined to repairing the damage caused by the fall of the tower. The first origin of the buildings attached to the east of the north transept may be traced to this period. That an Early English building stood on this site, is shown by the fact that a small portion of its south wall, containing a beautiful piscina,[m] still exists, as well as a small capital in the upper chamber, and bases of rather Transitional character attached to

[m] This piscina, of the purest and richest Early English, is a stronger instance than any we have yet seen of the twofold style employed just at this date, according as the builders were or were not fettered by the juxtaposition of earlier work. See above, p. 97.

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CATHEDRAL: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

the east wall, now serving as supports to the jamb of the east window. And that it is contemporary with the transept is shown by the northern arch of its eastern arcade going through the wall, with a moulded side to the east, showing that it has not been cut through, but that an eastern erection was contemplated from the beginning. But it is not probable that any portion of the original structure remains in the other walls. It is more likely that in the reconstructions of the next century the south wall alone was preserved, and the remainder erected from the ground on an entirely new plan.

St. Thomas' Chapel then was originally a chapel attached to the Cathedral and approached from its transept, but still having a distinct south wall, whereas one would have thought it would have been much more conveniently wrought into the general design, and united by arches to the north choir aisle. But a still stronger case of what at first sight appears to be an unnecessary independence may be found in the Priory of Monkton,[n] near Pembroke, where a large chapel, contemporary with the choir, stands to the north of it, with walls completely distinct from those of any part of the church. The case of the Lady Chapel at Ely is familiar to every one.

The dedication of this chapel, combined with the entry of "Translatio S. Thomæ Martyris" above quoted,[o] pretty well fixes its date. That event happened in the same year as the fall of the tower; the reconstructions consequent thereon afforded the Chapter or Bishop a grand opportunity to do something in honour of the new saint. Their exuberant zeal in the direction of the now fashionable devotion is shown in the size and importance of the structure; while the particular position may possibly refer to the place of his assassination in Canterbury Cathedral, where the north transept is known as the "Martyrdom." We may safely set it down as built within a few years after 1220, as soon as the rebuilding of the choir and transepts was completed.

Third Period, Early English—1248.

The next important event recorded by our annalist is the fact that in the year 1248 the church was very much damaged by an earthquake.[p] To this

[n] See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Vol. III. New Series, p. 182. [o] See above, p. 146, *Note*.

[p] "Anno MCCXLVIII. Terræ motus magnus fuit in Britanniâ et Hybernià, quo terræ motu magna pars Ecclesiæ Menevensis corruit, et plura ædificia in patria, et rupes scissæ sunt, xi Cal. Marcii."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 650.

"Ac yn y bu uarw escob Mynyw. Y vlwydyn honno [1248] yr ugeinuet dyd o vis Whefrawr

cause we can hardly fail to ascribe the insecure and bulging condition of so great a part of the church, especially of the north side of the nave. But it must also have made itself very severely felt in the eastern part of the building. Possibly the tower, or part of it, may have again fallen on the roof of the choir, as it can hardly fail to be at this time that the clerestory of that portion was altered. The alterations in the side windows were made, even at so late a period, in strict imitation of the former work, but at the east end, where the architect was less fettered by precedent, he produced a design in the usual fashion of the age. Besides the traces still remaining, there is documentary evidence to prove the existence of a round window in the gable. It would be very possible, though not absolutely necessary, to attribute also the Early English arcades in the lantern to this age, especially if we suppose a second fall of the tower.

Eastern Chapels and Aisles.

The chapels east of the choir were originally commenced during the Early English period; but we have not such direct evidence as to the exact date of those portions which must be assigned to this age, as we have for the earlier and the later portions of the Cathedral. They seem to have been built, to a certain extent, from an uniform plan, and yet, even in the Early English details themselves, we see changes sufficient to induce us to suppose that the work was commenced at a much earlier period, and spread over a long space of time, with considerable intermissions. A great part was probably erected in connexion with the repairs rendered necessary by the earthquake of 1248, although some portions seem earlier than that event. Notwithstanding numerous subsequent changes, enough is still preserved to show their general plan, though some parts remain in a state of no little obscurity. This general plan consisted then, as now, of a continuation of the choir aisles on each side of the central space, which is prolonged beyond them to form a Lady Chapel, but the latter, in its present form, was a somewhat later addition, and apparently not contemplated in the original design of this period. Of the condition of the space immediately east of the choir, now forming Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, it is not easy to speak at this period. The description given

y crynawd y daear yn aruthur yn gyffredin ar draws yr holl deyrnas."—*Brut y Tywysogion; Myv. Arch.* II. p. 459.

of it in George Owen's MS. History as "vilissimus sive sordidissimus locus in totâ ecclesiâ," a designation which it is said to have continued to deserve up to the days of that Prelate, is very remarkable, and not very intelligible.[q] But the idea conveyed by it, although sufficiently vague, agrees excellently with the manifest fact that, till that period, it clearly never entered, so to speak, into the design of the church; buildings were formed all around it, with no farther reference to it than to exclude it from all account. For anything that appears to the contrary, it might have been left utterly desolate and hypæthral, and there can be no doubt as to the fact that it was separated from the aisles on each side of it, and from the chapel eastward of it, as in the latter case it still is, by a blank wall, and not by arches. There are no traces whatever of the latter; the two Early English arches on each side immediately east of it are quite distinct, and the western respond on the north side is tied into the masonry in both directions, and has evidently never formed part of a pier having an arch to the west.[r] The only reason that can be assigned for having this place in such a state would be to preserve uninjured the full effect of the lower east window of the choir so recently completed, and which appears by the masonry to have been first blocked by Vaughan's ashlar work. Till that time it probably retained its glazing.[s]

The original height of the chapel aisles is fixed by the more slanting pitch already mentioned as discernible at the east end of the choir aisles, with which the preparations for vaulting, probably never completed, agree. The original wall remains on the north side, without any internal alteration beyond the insertion of monuments, up to about the height of the string. From that point rise the Decorated vaulting shafts of octagonal form, beneath which a base, a band, or other fragment of the Early English round ones may be

[q] Fenton, p. 98. This is probably the "void place" meant in the following entry of the year 1492:—

"Et sol? pro mundaõe vacuj locj juxta sum̃um altare 4^{d}."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 23.

If it cost fourpence to clean it in those days, it must have been very dirty indeed.

[r] Bishop Vaughan's northern arch has destroyed a Decorated tomb, of which a very small fragment remains, sufficient however to show that the north side of this space was closed by a solid wall. See above, p. 119.

[s] Browne Willis, p. 15, records a tradition of the eastern triplet having once been filled with painted glass, and having opened into Bishop Vaughan's Chapel. The assertion cannot be literally true, but if it be true in any sense, and anything more than a truism, it falls in with our argument.

discerned in several places. In one case, at the north-west angle, the Early English support was a corbel in the form of a floriated capital. Several similar ones appear to have been used up again when preparations were made for a Decorated vault. On the other side of this aisle the system of vaulting arches is still nearly perfect, though no distinct shafts remain, for the large arch into Bishop Vaughan's Chapel hinders any such fragments remaining in the west part of the aisle, and farther east, in the couplet, members of the pier and responds acted as vaulting shafts. But that these vaults, like so many others throughout the church, were ever more than designed, is rendered improbable, if it were only by the extensive reconstruction which took place during the next style. In the south aisle the design cannot be so distinctly made out, partly on account of the complete rebuilding of the south wall at an earlier period, partly on account of a good deal of the inner wall being concealed by modern props. Still enough remains to show that the arrangement was the same on both sides. The original choir aisles open into the chapel aisles by arches cut through their east walls; in the northern one, a pair of capitals of the Transitional period seem to have been used up again.

It has been already remarked that the couplet of arches in the south aisle is of a somewhat different design and apparently earlier character than that in the north.[1] We have seen that the section of the piers is different, and that while the southern one has a small and delicate form of the nail head in its capital, that of the north is composed entirely of projecting mouldings, approaching more nearly to the later work in the Lady Chapel. Besides, the eastern respond of the northern couplet bonds in with the masonry adjoining it both to the east and south, that is, both with the south wall of that part of the north aisle which stands free, and with the transverse wall forming the west end of the Lady Chapel. This northern couplet is palpably of a piece with the latter wall, and with the two arches in it. But the corresponding respond of the southern couplet not only does not bond in with the wall east of it, that is the southern wall of the Lady Chapel, but not even with the transverse wall containing the arches. The inference from this is that the two couplets are of different dates, the southern being the earlier, the present western wall of the Lady Chapel being contemporary with the northern one and not with the

[1] See above, p. 70.

southern. This looks as if the work had been interrupted during its progress, and was afterwards continued from substantially the same design. One might therefore not unnaturally suppose that these additions were commenced shortly before the earthquake, that the south aisle had advanced thus far, the north aisle being either not commenced, or left very imperfect, the couplet at least not being built. At this stage all operations in the church would be suspended for a time by that catastrophe, while the attention of its guardians was directed to the more necessary repairs of the choir. When these had been completed, the next work would naturally be to complete the unfinished chapels; though, as such frequent reconstructions must have gone far to exhaust the funds of the Chapter and others interested, it would not be unnatural to suppose that some time elapsed, and that they were completed in quite the later days of the Early English style, from the same general design as was originally contemplated, but with some changes in detail.

It is by no means clear whether the Lady Chapel in its present form was at all designed when the Early English alterations took place, or whether a smaller structure of altogether different character was not more probably intended. Not only is the north wall of the chapel built up against the transverse wall without bonding in, as may be more distinctly seen without, but a vaulting line lower than that of Bishop Martyn's work, to be mentioned presently, may still be traced on the west wall of the Lady Chapel, and seems to show that some other arrangement was once contemplated. Possibly the two low segmental arches which open into the chapel may have been merely designed to open into a small projection vaulted from the central pillar and merely containing two altars. In any case we must suppose some constructive reason, insecurity of foundations or the like, to account for the like arrangement not being extended along the whole wall, whence a blank space remains to the north of the two arches. If such an arrangement were intended, one can conceive no other reason for the system thus stopping short; or if the existing arches were designed to enter into a single larger body, like the present chapel, nothing else, one would suppose, could account for its being placed, as it is, on one side. In any case it is strange that the north chapel aisle should have projected as it does, for it clearly attained its present length at once, while the southern one was lengthened during the Decorated repair, having previously not extended beyond the line of the arches into the Lady Chapel. This first

erection of a Lady Chapel we may fairly connect with the foundation of a daily mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin by Bishop Anselm, *circa* 1248.[u]

The passage itself, which, according to this view, may not originally have been a passage, but the actual termination of the church, appears to have been designed for vaulting, as is shown by the bases of shafts still remaining; the two arches and the space to the north would have formed a system of three bays. It seems to have had a transverse roof, the high pitch of which may still be traced on the wall beneath the clerestory windows. But the whole appearance, within and without, of this part of the church, is of the most perplexing nature. Nothing but a personal inspection can give the slightest notion of the difficulties to be encountered at every step, unless possibly the obscurity which, it is to be feared, must, in too great a degree, attend the present attempt to unravel them.

Another alteration also took place in the church during the Early English period, which is well worthy of notice, as showing how a fact in architectural history may sometimes be demonstratively proved, though hardly any portion of the work itself remains. The south wall of the south choir aisle was now taken down, and rebuilt a little to the south, so as somewhat to increase its width, a fact which may make us believe that its predecessor, if not the corresponding wall on the other side, belonged to the original structure of De Leià, and not to the Transitional reconstruction then so recent. That the aisle has been widened appears from the bases of vaulting shafts remaining a little to the north of the present wall; that it was widened now, and not when the wall was rebuilt from the string during the Decorated changes, is clear, both because the east wall to the south of the arch leading into the chapel aisle is of a piece with the jamb of that arch, and also because the Decorated string cuts through the canopy of a Decorated tomb, which must therefore have been inserted in the Early English wall before the general Decorated repair.

Fourth Period, Transitional—*circa* 1290.

The next period in the history of the church is marked by the construction of the present Lady Chapel by Bishop Martyn, at some period between 1290 and 1328, the former date being that of his accession to the Bishopric, the

[u] See above, p. 100.

latter that of his death. Perhaps the foundation of 1302 will enable us to fix the date more exactly.[v] The appearances at the entrance to this chapel, the seams, patchings, interruptions, &c., are most perplexing, and cannot be made intelligible by any description, but the result of repeated examinations on the spot is a belief that most probably some such small structure as was described above had at least been commenced, but that Martyn changed the design, and erected the present larger structure. The masonry of the arches leading into the chapel does not belong to that of the chapel itself, the arches themselves do not form a suitable approach to the latter, and Martyn's vaulting system, as we have seen, displaced an earlier one. Hence we may infer a change of design. But there is so little change in style that we must conceive the second design to have followed almost immediately upon the first. The architecture of Martyn's Chapel is well nigh identical with the later Early English work adjoining. Some details may be called Decorated, but the general feeling and character much more nearly resemble those of the preceding style, and the capitals are remarkably similar to some of those in the north chapel aisle. It may be called an example of not very advanced Transition, less advanced, like so much other work at St. David's, than might have been expected from its date. Its style, though a little later, is not dissimilar to that of the analogous structure at Llandaff, but the two present a striking contrast in proportion; that at Llandaff being remarkably tall and slender, with narrow bays and extremely lofty windows, while the St. David's chapel partakes of the general character of breadth and lowness, which distinguishes the whole Cathedral.

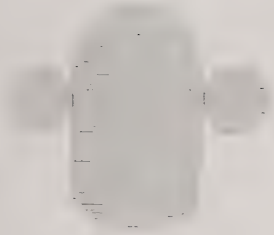
On the whole, this chapel, though separated by a small difference in date and style, may be considered as the conclusion of the third epoch in the history of the fabric. It was the last distinct addition to the Cathedral, and brought the ground-plan within a very few feet of what it is at present. Up to this time the building was continually extending its dimensions; subsequent benefactors did little more than remodel the works of their predecessors. Bishop Martyn, more truly than any one else, may be said to have *completed* the existing church.

Though there is no part of the edifice which has been more altered in detail, we may still ascertain the most important features of the original design. The

[v] See above, pp. 100, 101.

ARCH, ENTRANCE TO THE LADY CHAPEL

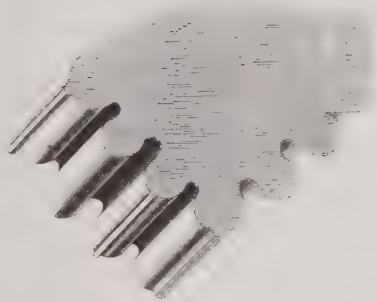
JAMB OF ARCH, ENTRANCE TO THE LADY CHAPEL



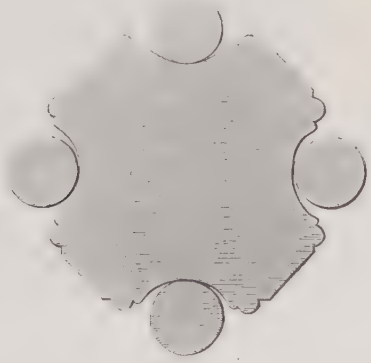
PILLAR NORTH ENTRANCE TO THE ANTE-CHAPEL

VAULTING SHAFT IN THE LADY CHAPEL

CURVED VAULTING SHAFT, SOUTH ENTRANCE TO THE ANTE-CHAPEL

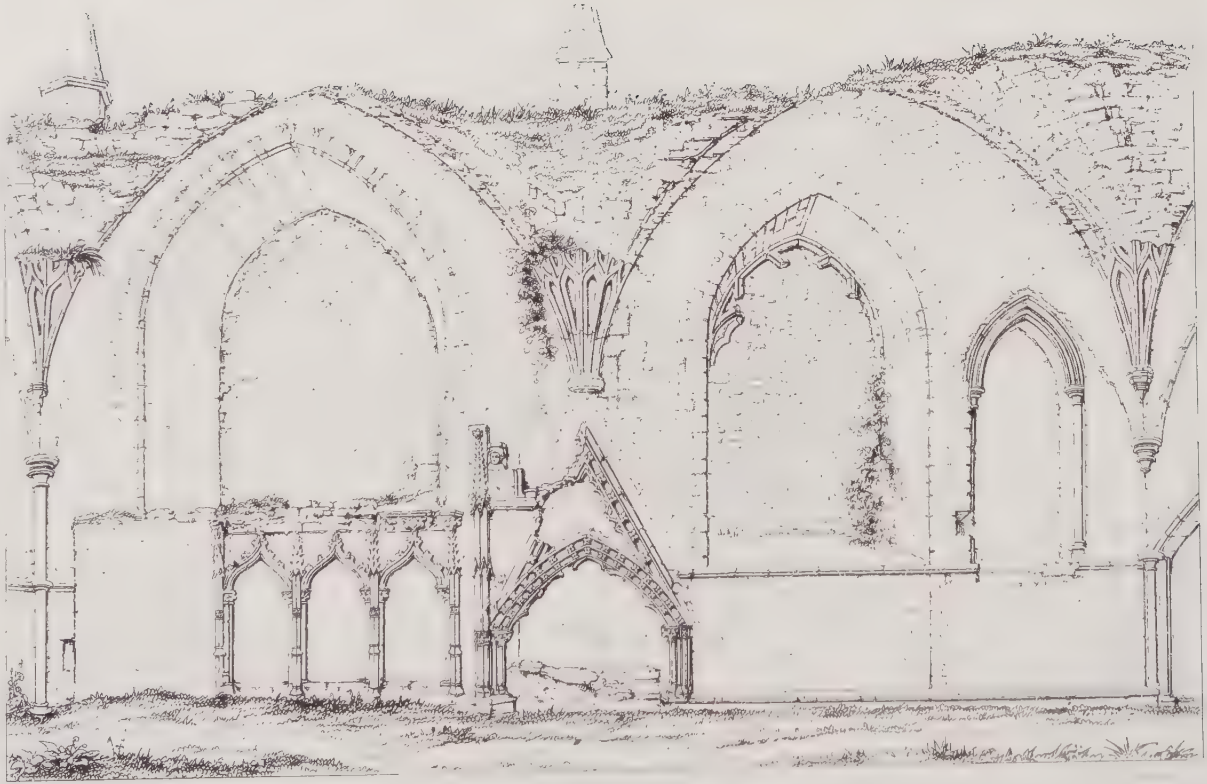


ARCHES, NORTH ENTRANCE TO THE ANTE-CHAPEL



PILLAR SOUTH ENTRANCE TO THE ANTE-CHAPEL.

DETAILS OF THE LADY CHAPEL &c



Decorated string still surrounds the whole interior, except where it is cut through by monuments and other palpable insertions. Traces remain of the vaulting system, as the original shafts are preserved at the four corners, and the corbels (heads in helmets) of at least one vaulting arch. But the number of bays contemplated in this roof is not clear; if it consisted, like the Perpendicular reconstruction, of two bays only, the arches would have been of prodigious height and span compared with the low position of their imposts, and the western arch must have been much wider than the eastern. Or it may have been of three, the western arch having its spring in the space now occupied by the inserted Perpendicular windows; but, even in this case, the bays could not have all been of the same width.

The sides were lighted by small windows, probably of two lights. In the western bay on the south side one remains perfect, though blocked, with a jamb, shaft and capital; a small fragment of another is discernible to the seat of it, also with a shaft, but with a jamb of somewhat different section. The shafted jambs and the greater part of the arch of the east window also remain, but what was the nature of its tracery must remain matter of conjecture.

If, as we can hardly fail to suppose, the Lady Chapel had, at its completion, a high pitched roof springing from walls of the same elevation as at present, it must have stood quite distinct, like a quadrangular version of that at Wells, rising far above the lean-to roofs of the chapel aisles, and the transverse roof of the chapel immediately behind it. The bad effect of this may possibly have suggested some of the subsequent alterations.

Fifth Period, Decorated—1328–1347.

Bishop Martyn was succeeded in 1328 by Henry Gower, one of the most munificent benefactors that the church of St. David's ever beheld, and who might almost deserve the name of the Menevian Wykeham. The alterations in the Cathedral effected during his time in the complete Decorated style extend nearly throughout the whole building, and appear to have been carried on from one uniform design. The chief object at this time appears to have been to bring the aisles and chapels into a more regular and ornamental shape, and we may fairly conclude that an impulse was given in that direction by the foundation of Sir John Wogan, which bears date in 1302,* but which, from the terms

* See document p. 100, *Note*.

employed, appears to have merely a prospective reference, and may not have been carried into effect for a considerable time. It was at this period that the aisles both of the nave and choir, and also the chapel aisles, had their walls raised to their present height, and preparations were again made for vaulting the whole. That this was so with regard to the chapel aisles we have already seen proved by the existence of earlier preparations for vaulting: as to the rest it would certainly be the idea suggested both by the analogy of the parts just mentioned, and by a general view of the regular system of windows and buttresses which these parts of the church now present. On a closer inspection indeed some difficulties will be found, but they all admit of a satisfactory explanation. The main objection would be that almost throughout both the nave and the choir aisles the vaulting shafts are evidently Romanesque or Transition, and that, as they rise above the height which the aisles are supposed not to have exceeded till this time, the more probable view would be that it was in the reparation after 1220 that the walls of the nave were raised, and these preparations for vaulting made. To answer that there would be no sufficient motive for such a change during that reparation, while it agrees admirably with the evident general reconstruction of the windows and buttresses during the Decorated period, would of course not be sufficient; but the indisputable fact that the chapel aisles were originally of the lower height, and were manifestly raised at this period, adds great weight to the supposition. Both chapel aisles and nave and choir aisles have manifestly been raised: the chapel aisles are such a mere continuation of the choir aisles that it is impossible to believe that they could ever have been allowed to remain of different heights: the natural inference is that the change was effected in both at the same time; that is, that it was not effected in the aisles of the nave and choir until the Decorated reconstruction under Gower. The fact is that the old vaulting shafts were used up again, and lengthened as much as the increased height required. An attentive examination will discover many signs which fall in very well with such a supposition; they have in many places been evidently subjected to some change, and often look unnaturally and awkwardly placed. Thus in the north aisle of the nave they fall behind their proper level above the string; the fact probably being that the wall up to that point is the original Norman erection, which was rebuilt from that level, and the shafts used up again. In the north choir aisle the patching of some of the shafts is manifest; the old

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section has been followed in the new work, but there is a manifest break at the point where they would originally have terminated, the upper masonry is quite different, and the two parts do not well cohere together. In the south choir aisle the case is, at first sight, less clear, but is, if possible, stronger. Here the shafts must have been subjected to two changes, first, when the aisle was widened in the Early English repair, secondly, when the upper part of the wall was rebuilt in Decorated times. The evidence here seems demonstrative. The south wall has been completely rebuilt, yet the Romanesque shafts still exist built up in the new wall. Throughout the church the Romanesque capitals have generally been used up again, but in some cases Decorated floriated capitals have been substituted.

In the nave aisles it may be remarked that the vaulting shafts are not of the same height on each side, those in the north aisle being the taller. It is also on this side only that the vaulting arches have been traced out, though no part of the actual vault has been commenced; whereas on the south side, where no arches have been traced, the spring of the vault has been begun. It will be remembered that some of the shafts on the north side have been shortened to receive Perpendicular flying buttresses, and consequently have capitals of that style.

The system of vaulting designed at this time in the chapel and choir aisles is well and regularly managed; in the latter the windows fit well into the vaulting arches, and agree with the range of the arcades. In the chapel aisles the design of five low and narrow bays, which had been entertained at their original erection, was changed for three of greater elevation and wider span; to allow of which, as well as to obtain greater scope for windows, the external walls were raised. Over the couplet in the south aisle the vaulting shaft, with which one of the arches would otherwise have interfered, is curiously and ingeniously adapted to its form by having its lower part twisted, and made into a label for the arch.

It is in this south chapel aisle that the work of this date appears to the greatest advantage. The east and south walls being now[x] erected from the

[x] This aisle has been evidently prolonged further to the east than was contemplated when the Lady Chapel was built, inasmuch as the western window in the south wall of the latter has now been made internal; and its originally external jamb seems to have been tampered with in a singular and unaccountable manner. It may be worth considering whether these walls were

ground, Gower's plan appears as an original design, and not as an innovation upon an earlier one. In the north aisle the work is not so rich, there being merely octagonal shafts with plain round capitals, except where Early English floriated capitals have been worked up again.

It must be remembered that none of these preparations for vaulting were ever carried into effect. This is indeed no unusual phænomenon, yet there is certainly something striking in so many designs for a stone roof being traced out upon the same walls, and none of them being ever brought to perfection. In the nave aisles it may perhaps be accounted for by the strange and untoward shapes which the great width of the pier arches compelled the lateral arches of the vaulting to assume; it may have been found actually impossible to vault the aisles either at this or the earlier Romanesque period. But this argument does not apply to any of the other unfinished vaults in the church of whatever date.

These internal changes were attended by corresponding remodellings of the exterior, so that all the aisles of the church received the general appearance of Decorated structures, a regular system of windows and buttresses of that style being introduced. The only exception is in the north aisle of the nave, where we have seen that, instead of entirely new buttresses, a modification of the old pilasters was adopted. There is considerable variety in the internal window jambs; the northern windows are the plainest, and are set in distinct rear-arches; while throughout the south side, and at the east end of the aisles, we have moulded jambs of considerable richness. In the south aisle of the choir and at the east end of the south chapel aisle there are regular Perpendicular cavettos, a remarkably early instance of the employment of that form, but an attentive examination has failed to detect any insertion or change in the masonry. In the nave aisle Gower's favourite wave moulding prevails; in the south chapel aisle a *quasi* shaft and capital is added.

The south porch, with its beautiful internal doorway, were now introduced: the doorway, as we have seen, supplanted a Norman predecessor. The original string, retained or worked up again, and forming a band over the vaulting

rebuilt and the aisles *prolonged* at this time; or whether, if we suppose that this southern aisle was begun before the earthquake, and that the northern engrossed most attention between that event and the completion of the Lady Chapel, it may not now have been brought to perfection for the first time.

shafts, has been adapted to the form of the rear-arch of the doorway, which is much less distinct than usual. That the porch then erected had a parvise is shown by its staircase turret being worked into the adjacent buttress.

During the episcopacy of Bishop Gower those Decorated changes and additions were made in the Chapter-house and buildings connected therewith, which we may fairly connect with the foundation of Sir Richard Symonds' chantry therein in 1329.[y] We have seen that Gower himself founded a chantry in the Lady Chapel in 1334,[z] at which time he would seem to have effected some considerable changes in that building, where we may fairly attribute to him the tomb of his predecessor Martyn as well as the sedilia. The former is a manifest insertion, and could not be the work of the founder himself, as its canopy involved the blocking of the more eastern of the two small windows of which traces remain. The elongation of the south aisle also produced the blocking of the other. As these changes must have had a practical effect in diminishing the light in the chapel, one would have expected to find some windows of this date, but at all events they have given way to Perpendicular substitutes. During the Decorated period a stage was added to the tower; it has however been suggested that this was done a little before Gower's general renovation as it exhibits the ball-flower on its lower string, and that ornament is found nowhere else in the church, except in the tomb in the south choir aisle, (No. 34,) whose canopy is cut through by Gower's string, and which we have therefore concluded to be earlier, though probably but very little earlier, than Gower's work.[a]

Sixth Period, Early Perpendicular—1384.

There is not much in the Cathedral of this date, which is perhaps in some measure to be accounted for by the erection of the beautiful Collegiate Chapel hard by. The great window in the south transept had been inserted before 1384, in which year money was laid out on its reparation,[b] unless indeed the phrase be taken in a wide sense to signify its original substitution

[y] See above p. 101.

[z] *Ibid.*

[a] See above, p. 122. Some remarks on the general character of the works of this great Prelate, and others bearing the impress of his school, which are scattered over a considerable extent of the southern portion of his Diocese, will be reserved till we come to treat of his greatest achievement, the Palace of St. David's.

[b] "Christiano Glaziario pro emendand fenestram magnã australem p sept. per conventiõem factam per Morganü ap Eynon, 3s."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 7. This goes on for several weeks.

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for its predecessor. Indeed it could not have been very long after that period that the present smaller ones were substituted, and the internal chapels constructed, as it is clear from the lowness of the cill of the window, which may be traced outside, that they could not have co-existed with it. There is however a difficulty connected with this stage of the history, namely, that in the Chapter accounts of this time, we find entries[c] for quarrying stone, for masons', carpenters', and glaziers' work, to an extent which would seem to imply that some more extensive operation was then going on than anything in the fabric itself would lead us to suppose. Some items are remarkable, as illustrating the insecurity of the district at the time; neither the sanctity nor the strength of the place proved sufficient defence against robbers, whose depredations were formidable enough to require precautions which must have greatly interfered with the beauty of the fabric. Several windows and doors in the aisles were now blocked with masonry, but whether any of the blockings which now exist date from so early a period may well be called in doubt.[d]

Seventh Period, Late Perpendicular—1461–1522.

The operations carried on in the Cathedral during the latter part of the fifteenth century and the commencement of the sixteenth were very extensive; they consisted chiefly in an entire renovation of the roofs throughout the main portion of the fabric. This work seems to have been carried on, not indeed from an uniform design, but with something like an uniform purpose, through a long series of years. Consequently there is considerable diversity in the mode in which the scheme was carried out in different parts of the building; and, beside this, there is considerable diversity even in those parts which are probably most closely connected in date and origin; none of the alterations of this age at St. David's exhibit anything approaching to that conspicuous mannerism which so remarkably distinguishes all the works of Bishop Gower.

There are two names which especially connect themselves with the reparations of this date, that of Owen Pole, Treasurer from 1472 to 1509, and that of

[c] Lib. Comm. I. pp. 1–12. All in 1384.

[d] "Syglo [a blacksmith] pro factura clavorum et emendaõe serarum fractarũ Eccl̃æ per latrones 16^{d}.

"I^{s} Buelth pro emendaõe ostii Thesaurariæ &c.

"I^{s} 2 cementariis obstruentibus div^{s}as fenestras Eccl̃æ propter pericula latronũ et div^{s}a ostia viz: in alis Eccl̃æ."—*Ibid.* p. 7.

Edward Vaughan, Bishop from 1509 to 1522. To the former is attributed the roof of the nave,[e] and there is reason to ascribe to him that of the choir also; but whether we are to consider them as having been erected at his private expense may be very well doubted. We may well imagine, considering his office, that he stood in no closer relation to them than the churchwardens whose names we often see attached to alterations of very different character; but the safer view may perhaps be the intermediate one, that they were executed at the charges of the Chapter or others, but at his instigation and under his superintendence. On looking a little closer, we can discern a few facts which may help us to assign to his works a date somewhat more exact than his long incumbency of thirty-seven years. The roof of the choir bears the arms of Bishop Robert Tully, who sat from 1461 to 1481, and of Bishop Richard Martyn, who succeeded him from 1482 to 1483; as also those of Edmund Earl of Richmond impaling Lady Margaret. The arms of Tully and Martyn occurred also in the clearly contemporary upper east window. From this evidence, combined with entries in the years 1490 and 1492,[f] we may conclude that it was completed soon after the latter time, probably in part at least from funds bequeathed by the two Bishops: Tully is clearly mentioned as having a hand in the undertaking, which indeed we might have inferred from the character displayed in his works at Gloucester. The Richmond arms might be merely a compliment to the reigning dynasty, or we may find another benefactor in the munificent mother of Henry VII. At the date of the nave ceiling we can only guess with less certainty. One would naturally regard it as a very late structure, and therefore thrust it as far as possible into the last days of Pole's treasurership. We have observed that it has by no means an English appearance, and we have also seen signs of foreign workmanship in the tomb of Bishop Morgan. Possibly it would not be going

[e] Fenton, p. 74. A boss preserved in the Chapter-house, apparently part of the choir roof, bears the letters O. P. in a monogram, and another, still remaining *in situ*, seems to bear traces of the same letters.

[f] "Et sol 9£ 4ª Dⁿⁱ Oweno Pole Mʳᵒ operis ad usū fabricæ per venerabilē patrem Robertū nuper Menev. Epūm per suas litteras patentes assignat."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 15, *anno* 1490. The same entry occurs p. 22, *anno* 1492, so that it was probably an annual payment during the progress of the work.

Robertum is interlined *Robertus Sherbourne*, which must be a later conjecture, and an unfortunate one, as that Prelate did not commence his episcopacy till 1505.

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too far to assign both of them to foreign artists during the interval between the death of Morgan in 1505 and that of Pole in 1509. Some other changes of the same style in the nave we may safely attribute to the same date. A new ceiling was added, or rather only begun, in the south aisle; in the northern one a very bungling attempt was made to convert the tracery of some of the Decorated windows into Perpendicular. Two of the clerestory windows on the north side were filled with tracery, probably as an earnest of more extensive additions of the same kind. In the same part of the church the dangerous condition of the clerestory wall is at once revealed, and to a certain extent remedied, by the addition of flying buttresses, partly internal, partly external, to receive which three of the vaulting shafts of the aisle were lowered, and furnished with fresh capitals. And it would seem on the whole most probable that three out of the four great buttresses against the north wall were added at this time; those namely which receive the thrust of the flying buttresses. When we come to speak of the cloister we shall find positive proof that they were erected before the dissolution of the College in 1549; and no time seems so likely for their erection as one when such great renovations were effected in this part of the church. The fourth, which supports no flying buttress, is probably of a later date, and it may be remarked that this alone of the four has not a real arch on its under surface.

Eastern Chapels.

The changes of late date in the eastern chapels are constantly attributed to Bishop Vaughan, the last of that series of munificent Prelates who had so often filled the chair of St. David, and who, just on the eve of the revolution which was to extinguish them for ever, might by his benefactions, here and elsewhere, be almost said to have renewed the days of Gower. We may consider him as carrying out Pole's plan for re-roofing the church in a more sumptuous manner, his roofs being of stone, while those of his predecessor were of wood.

First of all, in lieu of what had up to this time continued to deserve the name of "vilissimus sive sordidissimus locus," he erected the beautiful chapel which especially bears his name.[2] He probably now for the first time blocked the lower east windows, and certainly cut an arch on each side through the

[2] See above, p. 152.

hitherto solid north and south walls. This is shown, if by nothing else, by the fact that the northern arch cut through one of the arches traced out for the Decorated vaulting, and also involved the destruction of a Decorated tomb. We have also seen how a new stone has been inserted, in which the mouldings of the arch, thus interrupted above their natural impost, are, as it were, suddenly gathered up. This degree of respect for the design of a predecessor seems to show some intention of carrying it out by adding a vault to these aisles.

The same Bishop is also generally stated to have brought the space immediately east of his own chapel to its present state;[h] raising the walls and adding the existing vaults and windows, though their inferiority to the work immediately connected with them to the west is most conspicuous. The Perpendicular work of the porch may also be safely referred to the same hand, by reason of the exact similarity between the last mentioned window and that in the parvise. Yet without some such evidence one could hardly have believed that its extremely poor details could have proceeded from the same hand and period as the exquisite workmanship of the Trinity Chapel.

At the same time the Lady Chapel was remodelled, and at last received a stone vault not only in idea but in reality. Parts of the walls seem also to have been new cased externally; some operation of this kind may be surmised at the east end, where the original window is so completely blocked that hardly any traces remain without. It was still more effectually done in the eastern bay on the north side, as is shown by the part of the wall west of the buttress being narrower than that to the east of it, evidently because, while the latter was cased, the former retained only its original thickness. The buttresses on each side, the singular turrets at the east end, and the open parapet, of which only just enough remains to prove its existence, were added at this time, and the present windows inserted; but beyond these changes, the masonry of the southern wall appears to be still the original work of Bishop David Martyn.

The blocking up of the east window is an unsightly and apparently unaccountable singularity. It seems indeed that the height of the original east window was inconsistent with the roofing now introduced, as is shown by the

[h] His arms, impaling the See, appear on a boss on this roof, as well as on that of his own chapel.

top of its arch being cut off, but it seems very strange that a lower and broader window in the style of the time was not introduced, especially as the state of the wall inside, where the original jambs, &c., remain, show that no attempt could have been made, as in some other instances, to supply, however inadequately, the place of an east window by some display of the subsidiary arts.

Finally, the tower received the addition of another stage, raising it to its present height. A portion of the Decorated belfry stage was taken into the choir, by substituting wooden vaulting for the flat ceiling which seems to have previously occupied this position. As the vaulting, the springers of which were placed on the Decorated roof shafts, rose nearly to the middle of the Decorated stage, the partial blocking of its windows followed as a necessary consequence.

The more we contemplate the changes effected in the Cathedral at this time, the more we are struck by the extreme diversity of the different portions. For instance, the propping of the wall, at least as it appears within, was an ingenious expedient well carried out; the workmanship of the flying buttresses themselves and of the new capitals are both extremely good. Yet one can hardly doubt that this was effected at the same time as the change in the tracery in the adjoining windows, one of the most unlucky botches on record. And even in those portions which may be all set down as good work, but little resemblance can be recognized: this holds good both in smaller details, as the utterly different character of the Perpendicular windows and their jambs in different parts of the church, and in the utter dissimilarity of the roofs. All this is remarkably different from the course pursued in the works under Bishop Gower, where a systematic plan of repair was evidently kept to throughout the building, and a great analogy, and often an actual identity, may be observed between the smaller details and ornaments employed in distant portions of the Cathedral. Yet with all this diversity, the different portions of the Perpendicular work hang together as parts of a whole, though the bands which unite them are not so readily perceptible as in the work of the preceding period. The great point at which the restorers of this age aimed was a thorough renovation of the roofs of the church, the point in which it had up to their time remained most defective. Every earlier period in the history of the fabric had

witnessed the commencement of designs for the appropriate covering of the church, each of which was supplanted by others destined, like itself, never to arrive at perfection. Every period had covered a greater or less extent of wall with arches traced out for vaulting, but as yet one single chapel was the only place in which this intention had been carried into effect. But now every part of the whole body of the church, from the west front to the east wall of the Lady Chapel, received an ornamental roof of some sort or other; the design at least was extended to the aisles of the nave; and it is not improbable that enriched timber roofs may also have been added to the eastern aisles, as their present state precludes any evidence on this point; perhaps however, as has been already hinted, the intention of vaulting them may have still been entertained, though again never carried into effect. That the works of this period were not fully completed, is shown by the imperfect state of the ceiling in the south aisle of the nave.

So general a reparation of one member of the fabric throughout must have been done on some systematic plan, however great the diversities of execution may have been. And, as far as the roofs are concerned, there is no great difficulty. Bishop Vaughan, with a pardonable vanity, reserved the most perfect and sumptuous form of roof for that part of his church which was to bear his own name, and which he had himself rescued from a state apparently approaching very nearly to desecration. The roof of the Lady Chapel appears to have been little less sumptuous; but an inferior style of vaulting might suffice for the mere passage between the two. The walls of the nave, which could not support their own weight, were clearly inadequate to support that of a stone roof; they therefore received a wooden one of the most gorgeous character. But it is not so clear why the presbytery was not vaulted; for, if the walls could sustain an addition of height, one would have thought they might have supported a stone roof, at least if they had remained at their original elevation.

And even in those portions of the Perpendicular renovation which are not thus brought together as parts of one design, some mark is continually found connecting them with each other as parts of the same actual work. Thus the similarity of the open parapet—we may add, of the hexagonal turrets, allowing for the difference of their use and position—found nowhere else in the church, connects the upper stage of the tower with the new work of the Lady Chapel,

and thereby with the general reparation of the roofs of which it is but a part. Bishop Vaughan's Chapel and the passage beyond it not only form part of this general design, but can hardly fail to have been reconstructed at exactly the same time, yet we have seen that a similar window fixes the porch as contemporary with the passage, and thereby with the chapel, that is, the worst Perpendicular work in the church with the best.

Subsequent Alterations.

The extensive changes just commented on, may be considered as completing the Cathedral. Up to this time, like every other building, the very perfection of architectural skill and the passionate love of its exercise, which characterized the times, had exposed it to successive alterations from the taste or caprice of individual benefactors. No church during the middle ages can ever be regarded as finished; from many doubtless the scaffolds were hardly removed for centuries; each one remained alike a vehicle for the display of private liberality or ecclesiastical munificence, and a toy to be changed and moulded according to the pleasure of its guardians. The sentiments with which we now regard our ancient fabrics, as works of art and historical monuments, to be sedulously guarded, on both grounds, from every unnecessary innovation, could only arise when the art was becoming a dead one, and when the ages which it represented, their systems and feelings, were for ever remanded to the past. Up to this period every change is regarded as a benefaction; we may occasionally question its taste, but we sympathize with and applaud the spirit from which it arose; in the most deplorable innovations up to the sixteenth century, we do not object to the principle of change, but only to the mode in which it was effected in that particular case. But when a work is not only completed, but by lapse of time and revulsion of feeling thoroughly stereotyped as a historical monument, it becomes a solemn trust for our preservation, and, if need be, our restoration. All change not strictly included under the last term is set down as to be in itself reprehended, only to be justified by special circumstances, the burden of proving whose existence rests in every case with the innovator.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century considerable pains, as it would seem, were taken to preserve the building from further dilapidation. The blasts of the preceding period had swept unsparingly indeed over the ancient fabrics of Menevia; the translation of the See, which must, directly or

indirectly, have involved the complete ruin of the Cathedral,[i] was indeed averted, but only at the price of a ruined Palace and an absent Bishop. But the old church still stood erect, and in its essential features uninjured: the work of spoliation was as yet confined to its wealth and its subordinate buildings; the fabric itself was spared.

At this period the precedent set by the enormous buttresses added to the nave during Treasurer Pole's repair was followed by propping both transepts in a similar manner. To the eastern face of the south transept two large buttresses were attached, a solid one at the angle, and a flying buttress between its two blank arches. At the same time a wall was run across connecting the eastern points of these buttresses with the south choir aisle, thus making an actual addition to the church. The date of this addition is fixed on the one hand by the jambs of a Perpendicular window in the western bay of the choir aisle (now taken into the church, and cut through) still remaining to attest that an external wall existed at this point, and that the addition to the transept is of a date later than the Perpendicular changes. On the other hand the same aisle appears to have had only three windows at the close of the sixteenth century,[j] the most western one having apparently been blocked by this addition. That the buttresses themselves were erected partly with a view of making an addition to the church, and are consequently of this date, appears to follow from the one at the angle being a solid wall, and the other a flying buttress, so as to be thrown over the enclosed space without interfering with it. The former also has double buttresses of extremely slight projection to the east and south; which appears to confirm the idea that it was originally intended as the external wall of a building. In fact the space thus gained was used as a vestry;[k] and if it be the place alluded to in an entry of the year 1565,[l] we may venture to date its erection a little before that year.

[i] The translation of the Bishopric would have of course involved that of the Chapter, and we may shrewdly suspect that both would have lost no small portion of their goods by the way. The probable consequence, to judge from the analogy of other places, would have been the immediate destruction of the Cathedral, or at least of so much of it as was not absolutely required for parochial uses. But had the whole been spared, we may argue from the condition at which it arrived under the care of a capitular body, what would have been its fate had it been left to the poverty and ignorance of a retired village.

[j] Browne Willis, pp. 82, 83.

[k] "Within this [the south choir aisle] near the Steeple, was formerly a Vestry, which was subdivided."—*Ibid.* p. 23. It is marked as a vestry in his *Ichnography*.

[l] "It for y^e^ inward lock of y^e^ Vestrie 4^d^."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 40.

A similar support was added to the north transept, in a northerly direction, and, as may be judged from its complete similarity to that at the south-eastern angle of the south transept, at the same time.[m] This was built upon, and worked into, the east wall of the cloister, in such a manner as seems to show that its erection was subsequent to the destruction of the cloister, or at all events, to the relinquishment of all hopes of completing it. It now connects the Cathedral with the sacristy of the College Chapel.

We may probably refer to this date the partial blocking of the two windows of the north choir aisle. In each case three debased lights of equal height were inserted, the heads of which did not rise above the spring of the original arches. The upper part of the old windows was completely blocked: and that the blocking is contemporaneous with the debased lights is shown by an arch of construction in the masonry, at some distance above the heads of the lights. The second window of the north chapel aisle was thus dealt with: in the east window, and that which immediately adjoins it, the original tracery was left, fragments of which still bear witness to the fact. The remaining window of the chapel aisle was, as we have seen, filled with painted glass when Bishop Vaughan's Chapel was built,[n] and was therefore probably not tampered with: but as it contains neither tracery nor blocking there is nothing to prove it. The window immediately west of the porch, in the south aisle, seems to have been blocked at the same time, as it contained two lights nearly similar to the insertions in the north choir aisle. It would also appear to have been in this state before the close of the sixteenth century, as it was probably the only window in the south aisle which did not contain painted glass at that time.[o]

We find a record of some trifling repairs in the year 1571;[p] and in 1573 there was at least an intention of making further restorations in the south transept, unless we are to assign the erection of the buttresses and the addition of the vestry to that year, which is quite possible. How far this intention was carried out we have no means of judging; but it included the re-leading

[m] This must be carefully distinguished from the buttress added to the same transept in a westerly direction, which was built within the memory of man.

[n] See above, p. 127.

[o] *Ibid.*

[p] "It to Ellis [ap Howell] for mending the buttery's on the north Ile 14d. It to hĩ for 3 day's worke about ye other buttresses 2s. It to his man for soe many day's 18d."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 47.

of the roof,[q] a work which had to be repeated a little more than a century afterwards, whether in consequence of violence or otherwise.

The only work which we can refer with certainty to the early part of the seventeenth century is of a singular kind, not indeed in itself, but in respect of the authority from which it emanated. In 1630 Bishop Field held a visitation of the Chapter, in which he solemnly confirmed the acts and statutes of his predecessors, and then in due form, by and with the consent of the Chapter, decreed that his Cathedral should be whitewashed![r]

The eventful era of the civil war is generally regarded as that in which its eastern aisles and chapels were virtually lost to the Cathedral. We are told that the lead was at this time stripped from the Lady Chapel and the aisles, and used to cover the church and priory house at Cardigan.[s] The writer to whom we owe this account approaches so nearly to a contemporary authority that its truth scarcely admits of a question. It is however asserted by Archdeacon Yardley that this spoliation took place at the Reformation;[t] and his assertion, although more than counterbalanced by the authority we have quoted, and by other written evidence,[u] certainly receives some degree of

[q] The document is curious as relating to the appointment of persons to a parochial office which no longer exists at St. David's:—

"Quito die mensis Ap'lis. 1573.

"Churche } At wh day by the reu'end father in God Richard Ld byshop of S. Dauids there Wardeyns. } were viij psones of good name and fame chosen to be Church Wardeyns in said psh of S. Dauids. two in each Kilche. viz In Kilch y Dref Jen' Dd and Dauid llwid. In Dewistesea. Willm ap Robin and Willm' Dd Clement. In Kilch Buchan. Owen Jones and Gwallt Dd. and in Kilch Mawr John Robt and John pr. To detect and pnt unto my lord all faults vices and mysdemeanours &c. namely those that be negligent in comyng to churche: in bringing their childn to be Catechised. all filchers &c. talkers in the church. &c: and generally to pnt all such matiers as churche wardens are bound to pnt by vrtue and comaundement of the Queenes mats most dred Inūcons &c. And that all vouchers [?] of Last Wills and testamēs . . . . to be benevolent towards the mantenance of the fabrike of the Cath. church of S. D. &c. And also that the said churche wardeans should receave of the pshons of S. Dauids theyre benevolence towards the new ledding and mending of the Rootte of the South Ile of the said cath. chche comonly called the Chauncellours Chappell &c. mr. Tho. Huet chaūter &c. was pnt at this doing, and mistered the oath to the said church wardens, accordingly, and mr. chauncello' and mr Doct' powell were then and ther pnt. &c."—*Reg. A.* pp. 254, 5. See above, p. 97.

[r] "Dealbetur et calce lavetur."—*Reg. D.* p. 112.

[s] See Fenton, p. 85. [t] Men. Sac. I. p. 14.

[u] The following is one of Treasurer Clavering's answers to Bishop Clavering's Visitation Articles, in 1720:—

"Ad 5tum. The Quire, Chancel and Body of ye Church are in good repair, well floor'd and

countenance from the fact that Treasurer Lloyd's monument, erected early in the seventeenth century, and occupying the north-eastern arch of the presbytery, must have been from the beginning built into a solid wall. But there is an offset in the wall at the height of the cornice of the monument; so that the wall may have been originally built to this height to support the monument, and afterwards carried up to block the arch; or, as a similar offset appears in the blocking of the opposite arch, these walls may have been built previously to this height so as to form screens north and south of the altar. The blocking and Debased lights in the windows of the north choir and chapel aisles, if they are of the date to which we have assigned them, are evidence that these aisles were under cover subsequently to the Reformation; and the list of windows containing painted glass at the end of the sixteenth century, given in the last chapter, is perhaps the most conclusive evidence of all. Certainly that century has enough to answer for, as regards St. David's, without laying to its charge the evils of the following one.

The blocking of the arches in the presbytery was the necessary, and probably an immediate, consequence of the loss of the aisle roofs. How soon it followed that act, there is no evidence to show; and it is quite conceivable that the choir may have been left open for some time afterwards, as Divine Service was probably suspended in the choir; while the nave doubtless merited more than ever its appellation of "the Preaching place."[v] Still the interval could not have been a long one, as the aisles were never vaulted, and the loss of their lead would at once lay both them and the choir open to the weather.[w]

kept tollerably clean. The South and North Isles, and several Chapels about y^e^ Church, were ruin'd during the late Wars: the Leads taken away by y^e^ Soldiers; and the present Revenues of the Church not Sufficient to repair them."—*Reg. G. ad finem.*

[v] Reg C. p. 94. See above, p. 77, *Note*.

[w] There are some entries in the accounts of the year 1660 which appear to refer to repairs of the mischiefs done during this period:—

"To Mr. Hargest in discharge of his Bille for y^e^ Canons Dyett at 3 meetings ending 16° 9bris 1660 & For a bill of repair in y^e^ Quire	20 00 00
To Carpenters for their worke in y^e^ re pairs of y^e^ Church	08 00 0
Left with Henry Williams as Subcomoner twenty five pounds since layd out upon y^e^ repairs of y^e^ Church as appears by his bill	25 00 00
To y^e^ Glazier	03 10 00"—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 198.

Towards the close of this century, Bishop Watson, who, if Browne Willis may be trusted, was a confessor on behalf of his Cathedral,[x] urged the Chapter to repair the damages which it had suffered during the period of which we have just spoken. The only work which can be traced to his interference, and indeed the only one which we can with certainty refer to this period, is the re-leading of the transepts, which was accomplished in the year 1696.[y] It is not easy to discover their precise condition previously to this reparation. Archdeacon Yardley, who is our authority for ascribing it to Bishop Watson, says that they had lain uncovered for many years.[z] Taken alone his words would seem to imply that they had shared the fate of the choir aisles: but that would have necessitated the blocking of the north and south lantern arches, the former of which retains no traces of such a process, while the latter, so far as we know, was not closed until this very time. We must therefore suppose, as the authority of Archdeacon Yardley is too valuable to be entirely rejected, that the transepts had been unroofed for some time with a view to re-leading them, a task which at the instance of Bishop Watson was ultimately accomplished.

In all probability neither of them have possessed an ornamental roof at any time; the early intentions of vaulting were not more practical here than in any other part of the church; and the north transept at least seems not to have received any substitute either from Bishop Vaughan or at any intermediate time. In the south transept the gable has been lowered, and at the same time made to spring from a higher point, clearly not at the reconstruction of the roof which we are at present considering, the pitch of the two being altogether different; it must therefore have been connected with one of the Perpendicular alterations of that front, and far more probably with the earlier one. This most probably implies a reconstruction of the roof at that period, but the probability does not amount to a certainty, as the addition of a masking gable or wall in a front is not without precedent even in Perpendicular work, as in the façades of Beverley and Southwell. But if such a roof ever existed, it must have given way to another during the seventeenth century repair.

[x] Browne Willis, p. 138.

[y] The leads of the south transept bear that date with the initials E. M. T' (Edmund Meyrick, Treasurer). See also Lib. Comm. III. p. 51.

[z] Men. Sac. I. p. 19.

The southern lantern arch was, as we have intimated, closed during the episcopate of Watson, with a design of strengthening the tower, which has a formidable looking crack in its southern face: two apertures were left in the blocking "to convey light," but certainly not for ornament.

It is evident that a considerable amount of activity was manifested at this time, which contrasted favourably with the supineness of the preceding age, and which seems not to have been altogether transitory. It appears from Browne Willis that above £1500 had been expended on the fabric in the course of the ten years preceding that in which he wrote,[a] and there are extant Chapter orders of the period, which shew that the Canons curtailed their own incomes in order to carry out their repairs more effectually.[b] It is true that the fruits of their labours do not strike the eye at the present day. Probably they were confined to substantial work, and did not extend to ornamental matters, and, all things being considered, it is a happy circumstance that they did not. Yet it is matter of regret that no efforts were made to rescue from further ruin the aisles, which were, in fact, an integral portion of the choir, as being essential to its full æsthetical effect; and that the beautiful roof of the Lady Chapel was abandoned to the wind and rain. For the choir and chapel aisles have, in fact, lost little by their exposure of two centuries: a skilful architect and careful workmen may, at any time, reproduce their original condition at a comparatively small cost; but we have lost Bishop Vaughan's completion of the Lady Chapel, and the loss is irreparable. It remained probably possible to arrest its ruin up to a much later period than that of which we are speaking. In the middle of the last century the roof was still standing, but as it would seem, in a dilapidated, and certainly in a neglected condition.[c] At length the final fruits of sacrilege and negligence appeared, and the whole fell in within the memory of the last generation.[d]

In the early part of the last century the roof of the presbytery, which seems already to have approximated to its present dangerous condition, was propped by large heavy beams, springing from the Decorated vaulting shafts, and

[a] Browne Willis, p. 32. [b] Reg. G. p. 88.

[c] "St. Mary's Chapel hath been robbed of its Lead, & is now only covered with its Stone Vaulted Roof, thro' which Rain hath Worn a Passage, & with Moss & Grass which grows upon it."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 14.

[d] About the year 1775.—*Coll. Men.* II. p. 275.

supporting its tie beams. Their design appears to be imitated from that of the flying buttresses in the north aisle, and, probably with a view of increasing the resemblance, they were painted a light stone colour.[e] Probably the panels in the roofs of the choir and presbytery were then painted and shaded as at present; and the probability is increased by the fact that the backs of the stalls were soon afterwards painted in compliance with a similar taste.[f] A similar support was at a later period added to the tower,[g] the dangerous state of which appears to have attracted the attention of the Chapter more than once during the eighteenth century.[h]

The most important operation since the days of Edward Vaughan and Owen Pole was accomplished in the year 1793. In consequence of a letter from Bishop Horsley, a subscription was set on foot in the year 1789, which amounted altogether to £1931 12s. 6d., £839 having been subscribed by persons who were not members of the Cathedral body. Accordingly Mr. Nash was directed to give plans for rebuilding the west front, and the plans

[e] "The Roof of y^e^ Chancel, which is not so High as y^e^ Nave of y^e^ Church is exceedingly Beautiful, & in good Repair, The Painting having been refreshd of late years, & Large Buttresses of Wood painted not long Since placed by y^e^ Care of the Canons under y^e^ Principal Timbers for its greater Security. This Roof is Divided Into Equal Parts by Three Beams which reach from y^e^ East Window to y^e^ Steeple; & these have Seven other Pieces of Timber placed at Equal Distances, & crossing y^e^ others at right Angles. All these Beams are moulded & prettily painted & Gilt; between them are small Pannels very agreably painted in a Mosaic of a Blewish Stone Colour; & on y^e^ Mitres of ye Pannels where y^e^ Beams cross each other, are Several Curious Devises."—*Men. Sac.* I. pp. 24, 5. Perhaps the "refreshing" does not strictly apply to the panels.

[f] This was an age of ecclesiastical scene-painting: witness the extraordinary transformation of All Souls Chapel. A little earlier we have a memorandum of £8 13s. 6d. paid "to Mr. Lord for priming & painting the Altar & his other worke done about the same." This probably includes the decoration which the eastern triplet has received. At the same time there was paid "to Gabriel Clement Carpenter for the worke done by him in wainscotting the Altar the Summe of £6„0„0."—*Lib. Comm.* III. p. 125; 1710, 11.

[g] In 1771, as may be concluded from the combined evidence of a date on the beams, and of the following entries:—

"July 29, 1770 the sum of £31„10„0 towards the Repairs of the Tower was paid by an Order from m^r^. Archdeacon Holcombe."—*Lib. Comm.* V.

"And moreover the said Chantor and Chapter order'd the sum of one Guinea to be given to Mr. Hergest the Carpenter for his Excellent performance in repairing the Tower of the said Cathedral Church."—*Reg. I.* p. 15; 1770.

[h] "Paid Mr. Kymer for Timber for repairing the Tower of the Cathedral, 81„13„0." *Lib. Comm.* IV. p. 203.

were submitted to the criticism of the Society of Antiquaries. The result of this is the west front in its present form. To show how far the original work was interfered with, it will be desirable to give one or two extracts from the specification. After giving directions for shoring the west front and the western arches of the north and south arcades, the architect directs "foundations to be dug from the two buttresses, ten feet below the present surface of the ground; and a foundation to be dug to the same depth for the the casing of the front wall, three feet wide, and the whole extent of the west front." "A range of fir piles of Norway timber" were to be driven under the foundations of the buttresses and casing. Mr. Nash proceeds:—"Erect scaffolding, and take down stage by stage the upper part of the west front of the Cathedral, the whole extent thereof as low as the cill of the principal window. Take down one haunch of the first arch on each side the centre aisle and one half of the small arches over them [the triforium] also one bay of the the lead, flat and roof, and also of the carved ceiling, and boarding over it. And plaster and whitewash the whole to correspond with the old work.

"A casing (the whole length of the west front) of the stone of the country . . . . to be worked up against the old wall, as high as the cill of the principal window: the said casing to be eighteen inches thick at the bottom, and six inches at the top, the old wall being in that height twelve inches out of an upright, and hanging over its base." A completely new wall was to be built up from the cill of the window.[i]

In point of fact this plan does not seem to have been thoroughly carried out, as the western arches of the arcades are still in the condition in which they probably were before the repairs; and the whole, or nearly the whole, interior face of the west wall, probably including the rear arch of the window,[j] seems to be in its original state.

It only remains to observe that the sums expended on this work amounted to £2015 15s. 5d.[k]

[i] Coll. Men. II. p. 452–455.

[j] This may be inferred from a criticism in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1804. The writer, Mr. Carter, conjectures that the architect had given his window the form of the original rear arch:—"The great west window, in its proportion and turn of the arch, seems guided by the old internal finishings." See above, p. 145.

[k] Coll. Men. II. p. 460.

In the year 1811 we find the thanks of the Chapter voted to Archdeacon Davies, "for his zeal and attention in new paving and improving the Body of the Cathedral."[l]

Five years later it was found necessary to support the roof of the passage leading to the Lady Chapel by heavy props, which were built for that purpose against its southern wall, with arches thrown across the south chapel aisle.[m] Another similar buttress was run out into the middle of the Lady Chapel, enclosing the central pillar of the couplet which leads into it.

In compliance with an order of the Chapter made in the year 1827,[n] the Chantry Chapel of St. Thomas was fitted up as a Chapter-house, and was first used for that purpose at the audit on the 25th of July, 1829.[o] In order to effect a covered communication between the Chapter-house and the choir, the western bay of the north choir aisle was taken in and roofed over, though at a lower level than the original roof.

Up to this point we find no repairs extending to the strictly architectural features of the fabric. There has been nothing to deserve the name of a restoration, nothing done with any ulterior view than that of rescuing the building from further ruin, and in many instances the means taken to preserve it have in fact run counter to and destroyed the original architectural design. The only work of any extent, since the time of Bishop Vaughan, in which there are the slightest pretensions to architecture, is the greatest blot in the whole building. The first dawn of anything like a practical application of its beauties, is of much more recent date; and its first fruits appeared when the piers and arches of the nave were cleared of their thick coating of whitewash, by the care of one of the present Residentiary Canons. To inveigh against whitewash is in these days a little trite: it is a more pleasant task to record the effects of this good work. To say nothing of the richness and delicacy of the mouldings and floriated capitals rescued by this process, upon which we have dilated sufficiently already, one of the chief beauties of the nave was then brought to light in the natural colour of the stone, at once rich and sombre, and harmonizing wonderfully with the general effect of Peter de Leia's architecture. Within a very few years the same process has been partially extended to the choir; but much of the same kind remains to be done both there, and in the

[l] Coll. Men. II. p. 275. [m] *Ibid.* [n] *Ibid.* p. 298. [o] *Ibid.* p. 306.

transepts, and in the nave itself. In the transepts, in the southern one at all events, the eastern arches are turned with alternate voussoirs of purple and yellow stone, the effect of which is at present entirely lost.

The fitting up of the south transept in 1843–4 as a parish church, made considerable changes in the arrangement of the fabric. In order to enlarge it to the requisite extent, the blank arcades in its eastern wall were opened, and the old vestry, together with the western bay of the adjoining choir aisle, taken into it, the south wall of the latter being destroyed. These processes have resulted in the transept being now furnished with a complete eastern aisle. And as the arches by which it is entered have quite the effect of pier arches, there is nothing in the original transept to suggest the idea that such has not been the case from the beginning; it requires an inspection from the other side to reveal the two curious and, we may add, ingenious changes to which the appearance is owing. The next bay of the choir aisle was roofed in to form a porch, and a large and rather unsightly doorway cut through its southern wall. At the same time the original door leading from the nave was unfortunately blocked up.

In 1846 a small subscription was raised which has resulted in the restoration of the Rood-screen. About the same time the remains of the great north window, long blocked up, were taken out and replaced by a Decorated window from a design by Mr. Butterfield. The first window from the west in the north and south aisles respectively, the former wholly and the latter partly blocked, were filled with Decorated tracery copied from the third window of the north aisle. The southern window was restored by subscription. In 1849, the whole range of Perpendicular windows was blown in by a violent storm, and their places supplied by Decorated tracery of two patterns occupying the alternate windows. And the north choir aisle has since been roofed in, a step preparatory, it is to be hoped, to opening its windows, and the arcade of the presbytery.

J H Le Keux fc

CHAPTER VI.

SUBORDINATE BUILDINGS AND MINOR ANTIQUITIES.

St. Mary's College:

The Chapel of the College founded by Bishop Adam Houghton in 1377, forms a very prominent object in any view of the Cathedral taken from the north, and even where the body of the fabric is not visible, its small tower groups in a singular, and often pleasing, manner with many portions of the church. In close connexion with the chapel, and clearly erected at the same time, was a cloister, occupying a large portion of the space between the chapel and the Cathedral, and which we may most probably suppose to have been used in common by the members of both foundations. It will be the most convenient arrangement to describe this cloister, as the connecting link between the two buildings, previously to giving any minute account of the chapel, only mentioning at present such general features of the latter as are connected with the architecture or history of the cloister.

The chapel, being elevated on a large crypt, rose like a tall clerestory over the cloister, much in the same way as the Chapel and Hall of Magdalen College, Oxford, do at present, the floor of the chapel being on a level with the roof of the cloister. A sacristy and some other buildings were erected over the cloister at the south-east angle of the chapel, their eastern wall ranging with that of the chapel itself. A small tower is added at the south-west corner of the building, continuing its south wall in a westerly direction, but only occupying a small portion of its western face, other buildings, to be described presently, filling up the space to the northward.

The Cloister:

The form and extent of the cloister are only to be ascertained with great

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difficulty, as the building has been completely destroyed, and we are left to make out our account of it from the traces remaining against its north wall, where it was built against the chapel, from its east wall, which has also been retained, and some smaller fragments at other points.

One remarkable circumstance we may confidently assume at starting, that no cloister was ever erected against the walls of the Cathedral itself. No trace is found of such a structure in any portion of its extent, presenting in this respect a remarkable contrast to most of our great churches. At St. David's indeed no cloister at all appears to have been erected earlier than the time of Bishop Houghton, and that which he built was kept carefully distinct at least from the walls of the nave.

In form too his cloister must have been singular; its design most probably exhibited a complete rectangle, the dimension east and west being greatly the longer. But it seems most probable that only the north, west, and part of the east, sides were ever completed. On the north side, against the wall of the College Chapel, the vaulting system may be distinctly traced, consisting of nine four-centred arches, the lower segments being extremely small. The whole building having been erected just at the turning point from Decorated to Perpendicular, we find the details of the cloister rather to be called Decorated, while those of the chapel above are confirmed, though early and good, Perpendicular. The vaulting shafts of the cloister are round, with round moulded capitals; many of the bosses remain, some with foliage, many with inverted heads. The east side of the cloister unites the east wall of the College Chapel with the west wall of the north transept; here we have four bays traced out, and a fifth commenced; but it appears that the work stopped here, as the completion of the fifth arch would have involved an interference with the shaft of the Norman turret at the angle of the transept, which remains perfect from the ground. The cloister has evidently been actually completed along the whole of the north side and for the two first bays of the east, as is shown by the sacristy of the College Chapel, which stood over the latter, and by actual remains, though small, of the vault along the north side. These last appearances are not found in the three other bays on the east end, where we merely see the arches marked out, and that in some parts not perfectly. Probably the east side of the cloister was not actually continued beyond the bays under the sacristy. It may be remarked that the shafts

and springers which must have come immediately under the walls of the sacristy are in no wise stronger than the others, so that we must suppose that the weight was supported upon arches of construction which have perished with the walls above them.

On the west side, the wall, though almost wholly destroyed, may be traced throughout, being continued from a buttress projecting southward from the west wall of the chapel tower, against the east side of which buttress a bay of vaulting is marked out. The only remains on the south side, or rather at the southern extremity of the east side, are some fragments worked in with the great buttresses against the aisle wall of the Cathedral, but a careful investigation reveals enough to ascertain its extent in this direction. The most western of the four great buttresses connects the Cathedral with a piece of the west wall of the cloister, against which it has been built, and as the buttress extends a little west of the cloister wall, its masonry has been bevilled into it. On the east face of this wall there still remains the lower part of a vaulting shaft, marking the southern bay of the west side of the cloister, and a little beyond this is the spring of a four-centred arch running east and west, probably that of a doorway into the cloister at its southern extremity. Adjoining the buttress next to the east of this, we may discern fragments of masonry of two periods, one earlier and one later than the buttress itself. The former reveals a small, but very important, fragment of the cloister; the northern extremity of the buttress has been built up against a small quantity of ashlar quoining, presenting smooth faces to the east and south, and resting on an oblong plinth. The dimensions of this plinth are greatest from east to west, and it has a set-off in three directions, north, south, and east. There can be little doubt but that we here have the base of an original buttress projecting eastwards from the inner wall of the western cloister. The plinth of this buttress extends a very few inches to the west of the great buttress, showing that the latter was so built as just to avoid destroying any portion of the cloister; the extreme south bay of the latter thus standing in between the two great buttresses. From this we may safely infer that these vast props were erected while the cloister was yet standing: now we can hardly assign any date to its destruction earlier than the dissolution of the College; consequently they were erected previously to that event, and we have a certain confirmation of the view expressed above that they were contemporary with

the flying buttresses[a] added during the Perpendicular renovation. But more than this, we can now show, by two considerations, that the south side of the cloister was never built. First, while the two western props thus carefully avoid interfering with the cloister, the two eastern, one of which at least is contemporary with the other pair,[b] exhibit no traces of the neighbourhood of any other walls, and are built further out into the churchyard than the others, in a manner which would have involved the destruction of any south side of the cloister, had it ever existed; from which alone we might fairly conclude that it never did exist. But, secondly, it will be remembered that the southern extent of the cloister was settled by the remains of the doorway in its extreme end, and the commencement of its last bay by fragments of a vaulting shaft: had the south side ever existed, its northern or inner wall would have turned off just at the point where the remains of the cloister buttress exist, which, by possessing a plinth to the south, shows that the cloister did not turn off here, and thereby that no south side of the cloister ever existed. The later date above alluded to need only be mentioned because at first sight it increases the difficulty. The part of the prop buttress immediately adjoining the cloister buttress is much lower than the rest; on this a wall has been raised, which has been pulled down just at the point of the cloister buttress; this appears to be a part of some structure built after the destruction of the cloister and since destroyed. It may have reached all along to the chapel, as some traces of a roof line, not otherwise to be accounted for, are there to be seen.[c] Some traces of the south wall of this destroyed building also project from its east wall, which require to be noticed, as at first sight they look temptingly like a portion of the southern extremity of the cloister, upon which the wall of which they are fragments was apparently erected.

From all this we may conclude, not only that the south side never was built, but that, when the south end of the west side was finished, no idea was entertained of building it. Its designers seem to have been satisfied with a

[a] See above, p. 164.

[b] The other seems to be referred to in an entry of the year 1754–5:—"Paid [George Martin] for building Buttries to support y^e^ North Isle as per receipt. 12„13„4."—*Lib. Comm.* IV. p. 165.

[c] Traces of similar excrescences, since destroyed, remain against the churches of Romsey, St. Cross, and Leominster. We are informed (Men. Sac. I. p. 283: Lord's Plan, *ibid.* p. 5) that a library or school was formerly placed in or over the west cloister.

covered communication between the Cathedral and the College, without completing the usual square.[d] And if it should be asked why it was not continued up to the wall of the Cathedral, so that the north door might open into it, the answer is ready. This door was the easiest means of approach from nearly all the prebendal houses, (the west door being used only on state occasions) which by this means would have been cut off from it, except some awkward way had been devised through the cloister itself. A still more cogent reason precluded the erection of a cloister in immediate contiguity to the wall of the north aisle. To say that it would have interfered with the building as it existed, would be to ascribe to the mediæval builders a greater regard for the works of their predecessors than they commonly exhibited. In this case however they were met by the practical difficulty that such a structure would have completely blocked up the windows of the aisle, especially as the floor of the cloister rises some feet above that of the Cathedral.

The College Chapel;

The whole effect of this chapel is remarkably striking from every point, and even in its present state of complete ruin,—far beyond what has befallen any portion of the Cathedral,—it is easy to recognize the traces of high architectural excellence. It presents however many singularities, chiefly arising from its elevated position. The crypt on which it stands, which is at present chiefly remarkable for its disgusting state of filth, is one of a type to which we shall have to recur more at length when we come to the Palace; it runs longitudinally, and consists of a single elliptical barrel vault, cut into on the north side by the rear arches of small lights. There is a four-centred doorway at each end, and a pointed one into the north-east corner of the cloister. At the west end, under the vestibule of the chapel, where the vault has to sustain the weight of a transverse wall, it is strengthened by a secondary vault below.

The architectural mass of the chapel includes a small portion of the collegiate buildings, which are advanced from its west wall at a somewhat lower

[d] A somewhat similar arrangement exists at Hereford. A cloister walk is carried from the south transept of the church to meet another which runs at right angles to it, and is continued to an equal distance on either side the point of union. The whole ground-plan forms a T, the foot resting against the transept, and the cloister is thus kept clear of the walls of the church. For this singular design a similar reason may probably be assigned.

elevation. They were covered with a low pitched roof forming an awkward lean-to against the tower, an arrangement much to be regretted, as it excludes the possibility of any prominent west window. The entrance from the cloister is at this point, under the small square tower, which occupies considerably less than half the width of the chapel. The ascent from the cloister was apparently by a flight of steps under an arch, but the steps have been destroyed, so that the inquirer has at present to climb up how he best may. The arch of entrance is almost entirely destroyed, yet its spring remains to show that it had details exactly similar to the others of the cloister, but that it was somewhat higher. It must therefore have disturbed the arrangements of the cloister, and it is not easy to say how it could have been reconciled with the vaulting, without some very awkward shift. The tower and two bays beyond it to the north, forming a sort of western vestibule to the chapel, have been vaulted with a continuation of the same system as the cloister, differing only in corbels being substituted for shafts. The bay under the tower, being over the staircase, has the height of its vaulting arches adapted to that position, the northern ones rising from a considerably higher impost than the southern.

The tower is very plain, standing flush with the west end, and having one large buttress projecting from the latter southwards; from this buttress, as we have seen, the western wall of the cloister was continued. A close examination of this buttress leads to the inference that it was an afterthought, erected subsequently to the commencement, but prior to the completion, of the tower itself. There is a set-off in the western face of the tower level with the top of the domestic buildings, and from this point there are appearances of ashlar quoining continued upwards for several feet, flush with the south face of the tower. The buttress is built up against this ashlar, but is bonded into the masonry of the tower both above and below it. Lower down, however, there is a seam, which looks as if a buttress of less projection had been originally built up to a certain height, and its ashlar had been picked out to bond the new buttress into it. In all probability the original buttress was carried to the level of the set-off, where it would be needed to sustain the lateral pressure of the domestic buildings. The tower was then proceeded with, but by the time the builders had arrived at the point where the ashlar ceases, a settlement, or some other ground of fear, caused them to strengthen their buttress and to build it up against the tower, which they finally completed, bonding their new buttress into

it. Some such supposition is necessary to account for the buttress, which, carried to its present height, interferes with the design of the tower. The belfry lights, even at the late period of its erection, are plain narrow trefoiled lancets, excellently adapted to the position, but evidently a deliberate retention of earlier forms. In their proportions, and in the absence of the square label usual over single-light Perpendicular windows, they quite recall the effect of Early English lancets. Possibly the upper windows in the steeple of the Cathedral may have been a bungling attempt to express the same idea in still later times. The same attempt is made, with an intermediate degree of success, in the chancel of Herbrandston Church, near Milford.[a] It is in fact the same principle as the retention of the plain trefoil light throughout the Decorated style, as we see in the Palace. Similar lancets occur in the south wall of the tower, and at the other end of the vestibule. This tower was originally crowned, or designed to be crowned, with a spire, (probably of the broach form,) as is shown by the squinches visible at the top of the interior. But at present it is broken off at the cornice, which is adorned with angels. Over the two bays of the vestibule to the north of the tower, was some portion of the domestic buildings of the College, as is shown by the existence of a fire-place. The chamber was flat roofed, and had both an external window and one looking into the chapel. This last arrangement reminds one of the well known opening by which the infirmary at St. Cross communicated with the north transept of the church. May not this chamber, detached from the other domestic buildings, and connected with the chapel alone, have been used for a similar purpose? In other respects these buildings rather recall those connected with the west end of Irthlingborough Collegiate Church, Northamptonshire, where even the upper part of the campanile formed part of the domestic buildings of the College.

The chapel itself is a structure of considerable height, and from its position derives a most commanding effect of elevation externally, which is perhaps more remarkable on the north side, where the whole lower stage is blank, (excepting the small apertures lighting the crypt, which are of no importance to the general effect,) than where the space below is filled up by the arches of the cloister. Perhaps however on a closer examination some disappointment is the

[a] See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, Vol. II. pp. 101, 111.

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result, as at first sight one conceives the magnificent expectation of a structure reaching the whole external height. It consists of four bays; but as the eastern bay on the south side was occupied by a sacristy, and that on the north was almost completely filled by the magnificent tomb of the founder, three only are occupied by windows, which range regularly with the buttresses. The windows were shorn of their tracery, and apparently of a large portion of their ashlar jambs also, to furnish materials for the present west front of the Cathedral. To judge from what remains, their loss must have been greatly to be regretted, as the windows were clearly of the very best Early Perpendicular, of a sort of which nothing is found in the Cathedral, beautifully proportioned, of great height, and under simple arches. Here, though chapel, vestibule, and cloister are undoubtedly of a piece, the style is wholly Perpendicular, the jambs having the characteristic cavetto excellently worked, both inside and out. Some fragments of transoms also remain with arched lights under them. The east window is also of equally excellent proportions, and doubtless once presented a superb display of tracery. The buttresses have two set-offs, and rise flush from the walls of the cloister, the wall of the chapel being much thinner than that of its substructure. The effect of this on the north side is not altogether pleasing. From the way in which these buttresses are finished, it is clear that they terminated in pinnacles, probably carried up through a rich cornice and parapet, of which a single gurgoyle is all that now remains. This range of buttresses is perfect on the north side; on the south one only remains, the others having been destroyed, apparently for the sake of their ashlar. The windows are brought down as low externally as they possibly could, immediately above the level of the outer roof of the cloister, the change in the thickness of the wall being masked by a bold coping, which slopes from the cill of the window to the point where the buttress dies into the cloister wall. But within, as the crypt under the chapel is not nearly so high as the cloister, considerable depth is gained, and the windows are a sufficient height from the ground. A string of complicated section runs under the internal cill, and all round the four walls of the building.

The chapel is now roofless; but as the gable was clearly quite low, and as there is not the slightest sign of vaulting, we may safely conclude that it had an ornamented timber roof of the type just coming into use at the period of its erection. The antechapel was rather extensive, occupying about a bay and a

half; the extent may be ascertained by vestiges of steps. But the division appears to have been made so as not greatly to divide the chapel architecturally, as the place of the screen may be traced against the plaster below the string, and as it leaves the latter untouched, there could at all events have been no solid partition of a greater height. No vestige whatever of any internal arrangement remains, the whole building having been thoroughly gutted; even Bishop Houghton's tomb is only to be traced by the marks against the wall where its ashlar has been torn away.[f] It must have been an immense structure, with a canopy and pinnacles rising to a vast height. On the opposite side is the lower part of a small angular shaft, like those used in canopies, which seems to have supported a piscina since destroyed for its ashlar.

The only defects of this beautiful chapel are the want of a west window and of an entrance of any dignity. There is of course a dead wall between the chapel and its vestibule, in which some rather singular arches of construction may be observed. The only opening, besides the window already mentioned, was a doorway, now entirely defaced, the ashlar of its jambs having been torn away. The chapel was entered from the north by a winding staircase, which is continued at its north-west angle in the form of a small square turret, rising some little way above the wall, and leading to the chambers above the vestibule. This turret seems to have been crowned with a small spire, as some stones remain in the garden near its base, which look as if they could hardly have served any other use. It will be at once seen how the elevated position of the chapel, so imposing in an external prospect, effectually excluded any display of ritual pomp in the way of processions. A winding staircase as the most usual approach to a church—for such, as the collegiate buildings lay to the north, it must always have been—is a remarkable and surely an awkward singularity.

The sacristy, with another chamber over it, projects from the eastern bay at the full height of the chapel, but as it stood over the cloister, its western and

[f] This is unquestionably the tomb of Houghton. "Adam Hutton sepultus in suo collegio."—*Leland, Collectanea*, p. 413. Compare this with Men. Sac. I. p. 279:—"Corpus nostrum sacræ sepulturæ tradendum in parte Boreali Capellæ Cantariæ quam Deo favente fundamus juxta Ecclíam nostram Cathedralem Menevens' in honorem dictæ Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ." We have seen (p. 121) that a tomb (No. 31) in the Lady Chapel is attributed to Houghton, and it seems that another is shown at Llawhaden.—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, II. p. 325. Hâve we here another miracle of St. Teilo?—*Ibid.* I. p. 27.

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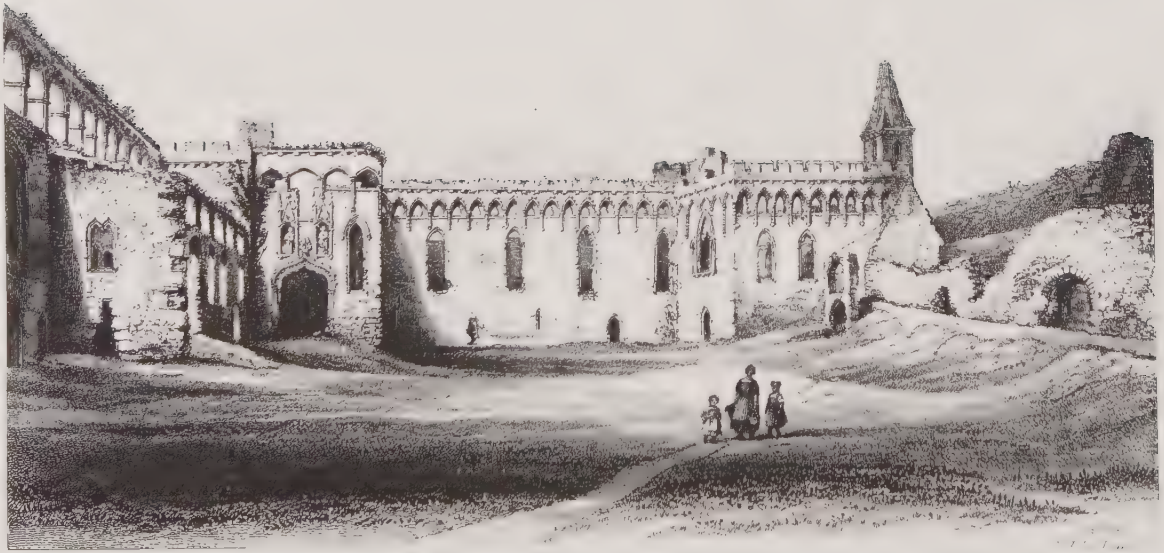
southern walls shared the destruction of that building. Enough however of the southern wall remains to determine the extent of the building in that direction, it being co-extensive, as we have seen, with two bays of the cloister. Its eastern wall is continuous with that of the chapel. We may here remark two enormous corbels on each side the east window of the chapel, near the extremity of the chapel walls, whose use it is by no means easy to conjecture. The sacristy is entered from the chapel by a small pointed door, with a four-centred rear arch; it has a pointed window to the east, somewhat larger than is usual in buildings of this kind; traces of the mullions, which are marked by some singular mouldings at their insertion, show that it was divided into three narrow lights. The upper chamber is lighted by a much smaller window. Traces of the winding staircase leading to the latter may be discerned in the north-east angle, and something like the northern jamb of a doorway, which probably led from the staircase to the upper chamber, is visible on the chapel wall. The sacristy itself contains a stoup.

The whole building, chapel, cloister, and all, is built of rubble, with only ashlar quoins and dressings, and the way in which the rubble is worked in with the ashlar of the shafts in the cloister is singularly bungling.

College Buildings.

The domestic buildings of the College lay, with the small exceptions already noticed, to the north of the chapel. They are at present in private occupation, and of the superstructure hardly anything remains. But the vaults are very extensive, as not only the chapel, but the whole of the buildings belonging to the society, seem to have been supported in this manner. They now present the singular phænomenon of a flourishing garden growing on the earth which has accumulated over these artificial recesses. They are of the same barrel form as that under the chapel, only the span being much smaller, the arch employed is semicircular, as it also is in those of the Palace. The houses of the members of the College—for, from the testimony of Leland, it appears that each had a private house,[8] an unusual arrangement—seem to have formed three sides of a small quadrangle open to the north, and standing some distance to the north of the chapel, between which and the south front of the quadrangle there was a

[8] "In hoc collegio sunt magister & 7 socii, & unicuique privata domus."—*Leland, Coll.* p. 415.



clear space. The only architectural feature which seems recoverable is the gateway, which is on the north side, and remarkably plain, consisting of a single tall four-centred arch, without any turrets or other decorative or defensive additions. A pointed segmental arch springs diagonally across the south-east angle of the court, serving at present to carry the corner of a modern house. One of the vaults on the eastern side may be conjectured from internal evidence to have played the part of a kitchen.

The Palace:

Although at St. David's, as well as in almost every other city, the Cathedral is absolutely the object of greatest interest and attraction, yet relatively, among structures of its own class, a far higher rank must be accorded to the magnificent remains of the Episcopal Palace. It is hardly necessary to say that many churches, even of inferior ecclesiastical rank, greatly surpass St. David's Cathedral in extent and in positive beauty, though certainly there is none which could so well occupy its peculiar position; of the Palace on the other hand it is hardly too much to affirm that it is altogether unsurpassed by any existing English edifice of its own kind. One can hardly conceive any structure that more completely proclaims its peculiar purpose: it is essentially a palace and not a castle: we have not here the moat, the tower, the frowning gateway, or any feature proclaiming, if not an intention of hostility, at all events a state of things involving the necessity of defence: the prominent points are the superb rose-window of the hall and the graceful spire of the chapel, importing an abode, not of warfare, but of hospitality and religion. Even at Wells the Palace is sufficiently fortified to show that at least the possibility of an attack was contemplated; but at St. David's everything proclaims a dwelling of peace. The actual cause of this is undoubtedly to be found in the circumstance of the Palace standing within a fortified close, so that hardly any further defensive preparations were needful for the episcopal residence itself. This arrangement however is a very fortunate one, both as greatly enhancing the moral effect of the place, and producing a structure of a class which is only too rare. Of castles we have enough and to spare; of domestic work so strictly ecclesiastical as the Palace of St. David's but few such examples remain. And though we must regret its desolate condition and long desertion by its ancient occupants, yet even this circumstance has preserved to us a stately work of architecture in a state far more perfect and unaltered than we could reasonably

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expect to find it if had remained in actual occupation during the last two centuries.

The Palace has, like the College, the advantage of being a structure of a single date and style, erected from one harmonious design. For if we thus lose the opportunity of such interesting inquiries as those which form the subject of our last chapter, the direct artistic study of a building in its entire purity is undoubtedly preferable. The founder of the existing structure was Bishop Gower,[h] and it is the greatest of the numerous works which still exist to bear witness to the skill and bounty of that munificent benefactor of his church and diocese. Gower held the see from 1328 to 1347, and there is perhaps sufficient evidence for fixing the date of the Palace about 1342.[i] The style consequently is Decorated, of which it is a beautiful, and in many respects both enriched and unique example.

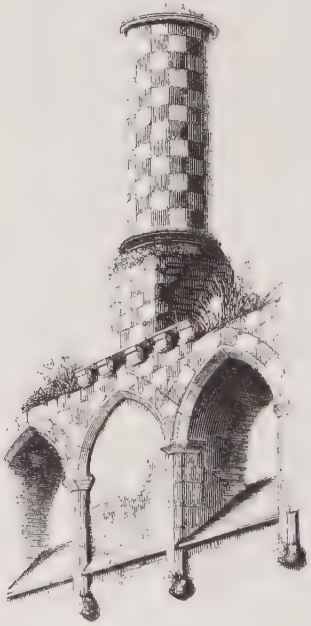
In thus speaking of the Palace as the product of one mind, erected from one design, it is not meant to assert dogmatically either that no stone remains of earlier or later date than the time of Gower, or that no interruptions or alterations of plan took place during the time of his erection. There is evidence to show that the latter at least have taken place; the masonry bears witness to stoppages, which indeed could hardly have failed to occur in the execution of so extensive a design; in some cases even the original plan appears to have been exchanged for another during the process of building. But the structure, as a whole, is one, consistent and harmonious; if any portion of earlier work should be found to remain, it is in the form of mere walls, introducing no architectural feature, and the later changes, when they do not amount to actual destruction, are few and trifling indeed.

In drawing up an account of the Palace, it will be hardly necessary to enter

[h] "Henricus Gower episcopus Menevensis fuit cancellarius Angl: Hic ædificavit mag: palatium episcopi Meneviæ, & bonam partem ædificiorum apud Lantfey, maner: episcopi Menevensis. Hic etiam ædificavit castellum in Swanseye in solo patrimonii sui."—*Leland, Coll.* p. 415.

[i] An ordinance of Bishop Gower, which received the assent of the Chapter, May 27, 1342, complains of the superfluous and ruinous buildings belonging to the Bishop, and orders the following only to be retained, and kept in repair, viz: in the Deanry of Pebidiawg, the Palace of St. David's and the Manor of Trevine; in the Deanry of Roos, the Castle of Llawhaden; in that of Castlemartin, the Manor of Lamphey; in that of Gower, the Manor of Llanddewi; in that of Brecon, the Manor of Llanddew; in that of Sub-Aeron, the Manor of Llandygwydd.—*Lib. Stat.* p. 24.

PART OF THE CHAPEL



CHIMNEY ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE QUADRANGLE

MOULDING OF THE PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE FROM THE QUADRANGLE.

DETAILS OF THE PALACE

so minutely into detail as has been done in the description and history of the Cathedral; but a comparison of the architectural peculiarities to be observed in the numerous buildings which may be considered as the work of its founder, or at all events as having emanated from his school, will form an interesting subject of inquiry, and one not devoid of importance even in a general survey of the history of English architecture.

The general plan of the Palace is quadrangular, but it is so broken up by numerous projections, some at right angles to the main fabric, others assuming the form, as it were, of aisles, that the monotony of the square form is altogether lost, and a most varied and picturesque effect produced. One would think the designer eagerly seized every opportunity of introducing a break or angle of any kind; and the result is that, while the main fabric is kept at the same height throughout, a remarkable distinctness is given to the more important of its component parts.

Parapet;

Before particularly describing any portion, we may remark one or two peculiarities which extend throughout the whole building. That which most strikes the observer at first sight is the very rich and singular form of the parapet. This consists of a series of open arches, resting on octagonal shafts corbelled off a little way down the wall; over the arcade is a corbel-table, over which again is a battlement with extremely narrow embrasures and loopholes. The arcade remains perfect throughout the greater part of the Palace, but the battlement is preserved only in a few places. The same ornament is also carried round the ends of the different portions; the gables, which are stepped, rise behind the flat parapet, the arches being necessarily blank. Great variety and richness is given to the shafts and arches in the more adorned parts of the structure, by the employment of stones of different colours placed alternately in the voussoirs of the arches and in the spandrils[1] above them, and even by rows of four-leaved flower set along both shafts and arches. Great variety may also be observed in the capitals and corbels, as well as in the width of the arches and height of the shafts in different parts of the building.

This parapet may be safely set down as at once the most striking and most unique of the many peculiarities and mannerisms which characterize the

[1] The use of small square stones produces an effect not unlike that of wall tiles.

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architectural works of Bishop Gower. It is only known to occur in two other buildings, both attributed to him, in the castle of Swansea, and in the episcopal palace at Lamphey, near Pembroke. At Swansea the arches rise from shafts, and only differ from those at St. David's in being somewhat plainer; but at Lamphey the shafts are absent, and the arches are very obtuse, if not sometimes quite round: the work in fact is quite poor and coarse.[k] At Lamphey also the parapet has not the same advantage as at St. David's of completely surrounding an uniform structure; it occurs only in parts of a very irregular pile containing a large extent both of earlier and later work. The arcade also is not continued along the end of the principal building where it occurs, though the battlement is continued in front of the gable.

There can be little doubt but that this parapet derives most of its admirable effect from the roofless state of the building it surrounds. In fact, as originally designed, it must be confessed that it was a mere confusion of ideas; a parapet of such remarkable height as this surrounding a high roof allows justice to be done to neither; the parapet conceals a large proportion of the slope of the roof, while the roof rising nevertheless above it hinders it from being, after all, that real finish to the building which a design of such height and complication seems to claim to be. But now that the roof is destroyed, the parapet forms a noble finish; the long line of arches fringing the wall is most effective at any time, and most of all by moonlight, when the light is seen through these interstices of the dark mass.

Crypts;

The whole of the palace is raised upon a series of vaults, a precaution by no means unnecessary in its position, and one which it is much to be regretted was not employed in the erection of any part of the Cathedral. At the same time it is clear that the preservation of the building from damp was not the sole object of these vaults, as from the small windows which lighted them exhibiting signs of glazing it is clear that some members of the household were lodged in these uncomfortable habitations. These vaults are of a type of which several examples occur in the neighbourhood, as in the palace of Lamphey, and the castles of Carew and Manorbeer, besides the later example which we have

[k] Whether the parapet at Lamphey be rightly assigned to Gower will be found considered at length elsewhere. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, II. pp. 321, 324; III. p. 199.

already seen in St. Mary's College hard by. Indeed they do not differ in any respect more essential than the employment of a round arch from the ordinary roofing of parish churches throughout a large district of Pembrokeshire,[1] which consists of a perfectly plain pointed barrel vault, without any decorative impost, and usually without any ribs or pilasters. To this last rule however there are some exceptions, as in the very extraordinary north transept of Manorbeer Church, and in some of the vaults under Carew Castle, where there are the springers of ashlar ribs, together with seams in the vaulting which they must have masked. Now in the Palace crypts at St. David's are similar seams in nearly every vault, which at first sight suggest the former existence of ribs resembling those at Carew; but on examination it is clear that no such process can have taken place, and it is by no means easy to account for their presence.

All these vaults, with the differences already mentioned, have a remarkable agreement in general effect, though it comes out less strongly in the plastered and whitewashed roofs of the parish churches. The rear arches of the windows, and other arches in similar positions, often cut into the vault, in a manner analogous to the arrangement of the cells in what is called Welsh vaulting.[m] The vaults under a large part of the palace do not run longitudinally, like that under the College Chapel, but transversely to the main buildings over them, such being probably the most convenient method of dividing them into separate chambers, as well as because in many parts they have to support transverse walls. On the south side, under the great hall, where they are most perfect, they form a suite of apartments, opening into each other by doorways (whose arches cut into the vault) so arranged as to form a diagonal line. The vault however runs longitudinally under the great chapel, where it forms but one chamber, and under the west side of the palace, where it is divided into chambers by transverse walls.

The building projecting eastwards from the Bishop's Hall has a longitudinal round vault for the greatest part of its length. The remaining or eastern portion has two longitudinal pointed vaults, one actually, and the other originally, open on the exterior. The southern one is walled off from the

[1] On the general subject of the Pembrokeshire vaults, see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, III. p. 173.

[m] The constructive arrangement is identical with that employed in a good many roofs of Italian architecture, as in the very fine one of the hall of Queen's College, Oxford.

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western portion, but the northern one, which is open to it, is so arranged that the northern half of the vaulting coincides with the curve of the western portion.

The vaults are entered from without by plain pointed doorways, which have in many cases lost their ashlar. They are lighted by narrow trefoil lancets, of the sort usual in many parts of South Wales; one of them on the east side is partially blocked by the spring of a vault, showing either a miscalculation or a change of design. In the vault under the great chapel are vestiges of a fire-place, and we may there remark some large boulder stones. of the kind so often seen in the neighbourhood lying on the surface, worked into the wall, or rather, as it seems, in their original position with the wall built upon them.

Great Hall, &c.;

The principal buildings of the Palace lie on the south side of the quadrangle, the greater part of which is occupied by the Great Hall. This is popularly called King John's Hall, but, if the English monarch of that name be intended, there must be some error,[n] as it is more than a century later than his time. The extent of the hall at present is increased by throwing into it the apartment immediately west of it, but traces of the wall dividing them still remain to the full height of the external walls. Fragments of a moulded jamb remain, denoting the position of the door which led from the hall to this apartment.

The hall is entered at the lower or east end by a magnificent porch, of the full height of the building, and with the same parapet continued round it. The outer doorway was evidently approached by a flight of steps. Though many of its ornaments have crumbled away, it is still of extreme richness, displaying a vast amount of detail in the way of flowered capitals, crockets, finials, and enriched mouldings—two orders of flowered patterns running along both jambs and arch. The arch is of a singular and rare form, especially at so early a period;[o] it is struck from six centres, but may be more intelligibly described as an ogee four-centred arch. Over the doorway are two niches,

[n] In Mr. Manby's work we find in p. 48, that the Palace was "built by Bishop Gower," and in p. 49, that "the south side of the quadrangle is a noble building, erected to entertain King John and his Queen on their return from Ireland."

[o] It occurs in Perpendicular work in the west doorway of Tenby Church and the west window of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire. See *History of Architecture*, p. 379. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, III. p. 186.

containing statues, which are now in a mutilated condition, but which from the date of the structure may be supposed to have represented Edward III. and Queen Philippa. Neither the doorway nor the niches are exactly in the centre, room having been found for a long two light window to the west of them, which like all others in the Palace, with a single exception, has lost its tracery. There was also, as appears from the drawings both of Manby and Norris, a smaller window, now broken down, between the niches. The inner doorway is much plainer and smaller, with a simple pointed arch, but some vestiges of flowered capitals may be discerned.

The hall itself is tolerably perfect in its shell, having lost only the tracery of its side windows, and the parapet on the south side, which was destroyed about 1790. The roof was apparently an open one of high pitch; the side windows, like most others in the Palace, were narrow ones of two lights with transoms; the tracery seems to have been of the Divergent kind. On the south or outer side are two, with a smaller and lower one in the apartment west of the hall. The most eastern of these is placed high in the wall, probably indicating the position of a screen or minstrel's gallery. This is confirmed by two corresponding holes, just to the west of the principal entrance, and by the fact that none of the rear arches east of this point have mouldings.

Towards the quadrangle there are three windows in the hall itself, and one in the west apartment. But at the east end is one window[p] of singular beauty remaining nearly perfect, namely a circular one, whose tracery forms a complete wheel with spokes radiating from a central quatrefoiled circle and having trefoiled arches between their extremities; the four-leaved flower occurs as an internal ornament. It must be borne in mind that this window originally rose like a clerestory over a lean-to aisle running along the end of the hall, which was surely a confusion between a front and a side, and can hardly have had a good effect externally. A doorway beneath the window led from the hall into the aisle.

The hall in its fullest extent, including the room to the west, which forms part of the same architectural mass, has two staircase turrets flanking the eastern gable, as well as one at the south-west angle, leaving its gable much freer than the eastern one. At the south-west corner of this side a small

[p] Engraved in the *Glossary of Architecture*, pl. 163.

building projects to the south, which evidently consisted of two stages, the upper one having a lean-to roof. This, it seems, was formerly shown as the chapel, an opinion very properly confuted by Mr. Manby.[q]

Great Chapel;

Attached to this range of buildings is the principal chapel of the Palace, which projects considerably westward of the western extremity of the hall, and by its position stands boldly forward as one of the prominent objects of the quadrangle. The chapel is entered by a porch on the north side and also by a small doorway from the chamber west of the hall. At its north-west angle, supported within and without on corbelled arches, is a small and elegant bell turret, terminated by a broach spire and designed to contain two bells. From this we may conceive the tower of St. Mary's College to have been probably imitated. There is no trace either of a vault or a flat ceiling, so that the roof was probably open, though a small round aperture over the east window and another at the west end suggest the notion of canted or arched rafters. The latter are found in many Welsh churches, as at Tenby and Llanbadarn-fawr. The east window itself from its size must have been of three lights, being one of the largest in the Palace; but its upper part at least has been at some time or other completely blocked with masonry, looking as if some square headed-window had been inserted. This was done, apparently in tolerable Perpendicular times, to the beautiful Early English windows of the hall at Lamphey; and a like fate befell at least one window on the opposite side of this Palace; but even if the operation had been far more extensive, one would hardly have looked for so barbarous a process in this particular position. This east window cuts into the parapet, causing two of the shafts to be corbelled off much higher than the others; on each side of it is a canopied niche, placed extremely close, so as quite to form part of the jamb. On the north side are two windows, of much the same proportion as

[q] "The room to the west is said to have been a chapel, but appears most probably to have been a bed-chamber; for minute observation justifies the idea of pronouncing that the chapel stands to the east, *as in that apartment there is a recess evidently designed for the reception of the host.*"—*Manby*, p. 50. The building intended is clearly the real chapel. It must be observed that Manby employs a different (and probably a more mathematically accurate) reckoning of the cardinal points from that here followed: the Palace not standing due east and west, we have taken the orientation of the chapels as the most convenient standard.

those of the hall; but the tracery appears to have been Convergent, a form employed by Gower in the Rood-screen of the Cathedral. On the other side the position of the chapel allows of windows only in its western portion. Here also there are two, but of much smaller size, being merely cinquefoiled lancets. A string runs a little way beneath the eastern one, as far as the door leading towards the hall, but no farther. In the usual position is a large piscina, with a cinquefoiled ogee arch between pinnacles.

West Side;

The north wall of this chapel is one of the parts of the Palace which show that the whole is not strictly contemporary, so far at least that there must have been some stoppages or changes of design during its erection. The gable of the range of buildings attached to it on the north side is distinctly visible through the wall in the interior of the chapel, which could hardly have been the case unless the latter were an addition; and in like manner the lean-to roofed porch of the chapel seems clearly added to the compass-roof building just mentioned. This porch, it should be observed, is not at right angles to the chapel. This western range of buildings also is very much lower than the rest, the apex of its roof rising very little above the impost of the others, and it is quite impossible that this and the porch both can have been furnished with the usual parapet in the same manner as the other aisled portions of the Palace. This difference of height may perhaps be explained, without supposing a difference of date, if we imagine that the more strictly domestic portions of the Palace were on this side, the east and south sides being chiefly occupied by state apartments.

As this very part of the Palace is unfortunately the worst preserved, being in fact completely ruinous, and retaining little more than a few shattered walls,[r] there is no positive evidence whether we have here anything really anterior to the days of Gower, or only an earlier portion of his work, commenced on a somewhat different design from that actually carried out. But it is very remarkable that on this side considerable traces remain of a feature of which in the better preserved parts of the Palace nothing more than the position can be made out. There are two handsome Decorated chimney-pieces

[r] This part of the Palace having been very much built into by cottages, it is often not easy to distinguish between ancient and modern walling. The gable still remaining at the end seems to agree with that abutting against the chapel.

which have clearly been of pretty much the same type as that in the upper Chapter-house. They have the same brackets for lights, the only one of which that is at all perfect has a rose underneath. The same vaults are continued under this side as throughout the rest of the Palace.

Gateway; The north side of the quadrangle is, for the greatest part of its extent, so utterly devoid of traces of buildings, that it is quite problematical whether any ever existed. The contrary is directly asserted by Browne Willis.[3] Our survey will recommence with the gateway, which is situated on this side, not very far from the north-east corner. This has suffered very much from later maltreatment, and has been partly broken down, but we may safely pronounce that it has at all times been a structure quite unworthy of the magnificent range of buildings to which it forms the entrance, being entirely devoid of architectural splendour, whether in outline or detail. It has no turrets to give it any dignity of composition, but mere buttresses, and those of no great importance. The outer opening is merely a plain segmental pointed arch, with one chamfer and a scroll label. The inner one is of the same form; but between them there is a round one, slightly segmental, of two chamfered orders.

A gable which may be traced against the inner face of this gateway is merely that of a cottage built up against it and recently removed.

Small Chapel; In the north-east corner of the Palace is a building which has so strongly the air of a chapel that, unnecessary as the occurrence of a second chapel would appear to be, one can hardly conceive it to be anything else.[4] There is indeed no positive evidence to prove that it has been a chapel, yet one can hardly suppose any other use for a building so small, and yet invested with so much architectural dignity, standing distinct, having large windows, and having no other room over it except the space between two roofs in a very small portion of its extent. The building projects from the main body, and has a distinct gable, the usual parapet, moreover, being absent except from the west end. It is entered, like the other principal apartments, by a flight of

[3] "To the north it was open."—*Browne Willis*, p. 26.
[4] Browne Willis calls it an oratory.—p. 27.

steps on the south side: just at the entrance is a large arch of construction, which seems to have embraced both a door and a window, both of which are now destroyed. The tracery of the east window does not seem capable of being recovered; but the two to the north were apparently of a simple ogee pattern. There has been a high roof, and a flat ceiling beneath it, with a small window in the gable. At the point where the roof of the east side of the Palace meets this roof at right angles, there has been a passage from the former into the space between the double roof of the building we are now describing. At the west end is a large semicircular recessed arch. Unfortunately, at the very point which would be decisive as to the sacred or profane use of the apartment in question, our evidence fails us, as just where the piscina would have been the masonry has been quite broken down. Near this is the approach to the small hall, and a curious passage through the wall: another such passage appears at the west end. These, it must be confessed, do not look like the arrangements of a chapel. On the north side the wall is of considerable thickness nearly as high as the cill of the windows, where it supports a sort of narrow terrace communicating with the chamber over the gate. This circumstance is connected with the absence of the usual parapet. The battlemented walk, supported by the latter, was apparently designed as a place of defence in case of emergency, as appears, among other considerations, from the most perfect of the remaining staircase turrets having a flight of external steps to the top, giving it the air of a small watch-tower. In this building, where the arched parapet is not carried round, the large windows which open externally on the north side would have been exposed to an attack, had not the small terrace been thrown out for their protection.

Bishop's Hall, &c.;

The eastern side of the Palace, though containing no single apartment so stately as the Great Hall to the south, and no external feature so conspicuous as its entrance porch, is a very valuable study of domestic architecture, and brings out some of the peculiarities of the general design more strikingly than any other part. Nowhere else can the aisle arrangement already alluded to be seen in any degree of perfection. This side consists of a main body of the full height, the southern portion of which was originally finished with an aisle on each side, the internal one alone remaining at present.

The principal building on the east side is a smaller hall, occupying its

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central portion, and commonly known as the Bishop's Hall.[u] This was probably the Bishop's ordinary dining room, the Great Hall being reserved for occasions of unusual ceremony. This building, like the Great Hall and the chapels, was approached by a flight of steps and a porch, the latter however not being a distinct building of the full height, like that of the Great Hall, but merely the north bay of the internal aisle,[v] blocked off for that purpose.

The outer doorway is of the form already described when treating of the Rood-screen in the Cathedral,[w] but in this case the angles are more obtuse, so as to form a complete semi-octagon. This doorway has been very much mutilated; it is clear that it has not merely been subjected to the ordinary operations of decay, but that it has lost the greater part of its ashlaring by violence. But from the traces which remain, it seems to have been of a very ornamental character, though much less enriched than that of the Great Hall. The remains of flowered capitals are still to be discerned, but no traces of decorations of that kind can be traced on the jambs. But from the other examples of arches of a similar form, we may perhaps reasonably conclude the arch itself to have been richly cusped. The inner doorway is much plainer, with bowtells treated as shafts. In the north wall of this porch is a very pretty window of two cinque-foiled lights, cut out of the solid, without a label, a form always elegant and effective in any position allowing of simplicity of design. The porch was designed for vaulting, the lines of which may be discerned on the north wall, and corbels for the purpose remain in the two western angles.

The hall itself is lighted by windows of the usual type, but furnished with more distinct rear arches; their tracery seems to have been Divergent. The roof may be inferred from a range of corbels to have been open without hammer-beams, yet in the north-west corner is a single large corbel much lower down, which is not easily explained. It is remarkable that in this smaller hall there is a fire-place, while in the great one there is no vestige of the kind. Either they were employed in different seasons of the year, or else the great hall was warmed by a brazier, the smoke escaping through a louvre in the roof. In this east side is a chimney well worthy of notice, especially as it seems an ornamental variety of the chimney still usual through a large part of Pembrokeshire, and some of the best examples of which may be found in

[u] Browne Willis, p. 27. [v] See above, p. 191. [w] See above, p. 78.

Manorbeer Castle and in the village of St. Florence, near Tenby. The shaft is round, and somewhat massive, and, as in the parapet, variety is sought for in the alternation of dark and light coloured stones. The capping is unfortunately destroyed.

Two rooms are entered from the Bishop's Hall. One lies immediately to the north, analogous to that adjoining the Great Hall, forming the extremity of this range of buildings, and having a communication with the smaller chapel. This has a window like those in the same range, with a square one inserted, as has been already mentioned. This room was flat-roofed, and has had another over it. Some remarkable arches of construction occur in the walls.

The other projects to the east of the main range, and as it wants the accustomed parapet, and is awkwardly approached by a small doorway in one corner of the hall, it has more the air of an addition or afterthought than any other portion of the Palace. There are here a fire-place and two chimneys, plainer than that mentioned before; the windows, some of which at least were square, are blocked. It had a parapet of blank arches rising immediately from the corbels, and, as Gower does not seem in any part to have so far deviated from his usual type, this certainly favours the notion of its being an addition.

Kitchen;

Finally, on this side the Palace, in the south-east corner, lying between the two halls, is an apartment of no small consequence in any age, but which the mediæval builders ordinarily invested with far more of architectural dignity than their successors of the present day. The kitchen in this case was vaulted, being the only portion of the upper range throughout the Palace which was so, excepting the entrance to the Bishop's Hall; and the vault was of a form not very easy to describe. It seems to have consisted of a dome with a large arch on corbels thrown across the middle. There are two square-headed windows to the south, and a pointed one to the east. Two shafts of chimneys lie here, having been blown or thrown down.

The internal aisle of this range of building was continued in an aisle of corresponding dimensions, built against the east end of the Great Hall, and the porch leading to it. Of this the vaults, carried transversely, alone remain at present, but the line of its roof can be traced against the wall a little below the circular window. Of course the roof had a fall contrary to that of the aisle of which it was a continuation. The difficulty thus occasioned was most

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ingeniously met by throwing a circular arch of considerable span across the aisle at the point of union, and carrying up the wall which it supports to the full height of the principal range. This wall is furnished with a blank arcade and battlement, and, while it served both æsthetically and mechanically as a bond of union between the two great masses of the Palace, it also played the part of a bridge between the battlements of either portion. The continued aisle was the only internal means of communication between the two great sections of the Palace, and formed the necessary thoroughfare from the kitchen to the Great Hall. What it may have led to beyond this it would be in vain to inquire; but as there are marks of a roof line on the south wall of the Great Hall, at its eastern extremity, falling in a direction opposite to that of the aisle, it seems probable that this latter was continued southward in some building with a compass roof.

We may here remark a conspicuous seam between the great porch and the building immediately to the east of it, which may be taken, together with the marks observed in the north wall of the principal chapel, as affording some sort of evidence that the Great Hall and the buildings connected with it were the last erected, as they are the crowning point of Gower's work in the Palace.[x] At this point we also find traces of alterations, subsequent, as it would seem, to the time of Gower himself. The longitudinal vault, which runs under the internal aisle already spoken of, is broken down near its southern extremity, and an elliptic arch, which, from its height, could not have coexisted with this vault, has been cut through the external or western wall. That it has been cut through is pretty clear from the fact of its having no rear arch, the wall having been apparently supported by a wooden lintel resting in holes which still remain. This is constructed as a skew arch, and a similar arch has been cut through the eastern wall of the aisle, placed of course diagonally with reference to the former, so as to form a straight passage from the quadrangle to the exterior space, then probably, as now, occupied by a garden. The last named arch, in spite of its awkward construction, cuts in a most audacious manner through the wall just under the south-west angle of the kitchen, which, be it remembered, had to support a vaulted roof of more than usually ponderous construction, and is placed just where the circular arch,

[x] Other signs of alterations may be observed in the vaults in this part of the building.

already mentioned, is thrown across the aisle. It is evident that this passage runs completely counter to the original design, and so far bears marks of a later date.

State of the Palace since the Reformation;

We have said that the Palace was in the main the work of one age, and of one author: there is no history of its construction to be made out from external, and very little from internal evidence. Of its desertion, however, and the process by which it has been gradually brought to its present state, there are a few facts on record. William Barlow is generally regarded as the first author of its ruin. Browne Willis tells us that the "Damage he did to the Episcopal Palace of Saint David's, by uncovering the Roof for the Lucre of the Lead, was so considerable . . . that twelve Years Revenue of the Bishoprick would not then have suffic'd to repair it as he found it."[y] This destructive process seems to have been confined to the Great Hall;[z] at all events the whole building could not have suffered from it, as it was habitable for many years afterwards. It would appear from Holinshed's account that Bishop Middleton actually resided there, although the place was not altogether according to his taste.[a] About the end of the sixteenth century a part of the building was still under cover;[b] and this portion must have included "the Hall, chapel, cellar and bake-house," which Bishop Milbourne obtained leave to demolish in 1616.[c] Browne Willis doubts whether the Archbishop's license for this purpose was put into execution, and if the demolition intended extends to the actual destruction of the walls, it is clear that it was not. The last notice we find of any portion of the building being occupied is in the year 1633, when at a visitation of the Cathedral by Bishop Field a chapter was held within the Palace;[d] but it seems that Bishop Ottley, about 1721, had thoughts of restoring it.[e]

Remarks on the Decorated Style as exhibited in the works of Bishop Gower.

The buildings which may, either on recorded testimony or strong internal evidence, be connected with the name of the munificent founder of St. David's

[y] Browne Willis, p. 120. [z] Men. Sac. I. p. 74.

[a] "The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church; and therefore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suertie he would put in to see it well performed."—*Holinshed, Chron.* Vol. I. p. 145. A very necessary precaution, no doubt.

[b] Browne Willis, p. 49. [c] *Ibid.* p. 125. [d] "Infra palatiū meneven̄."—*Reg. D.* p. 113.

[e] Browne Willis' Bangor: MS. Additions.

Palace, form a series of high interest, owing to the remarkable similarity which exists among them. It is not merely a resemblance of detail, for though we can enumerate a considerable list of details which, it is clear, were especial favourites with their author, yet the likeness seems to lie deeper: it is not the resemblance in detail which first suggests the notion of a common origin; it merely confirms a feeling which is almost instinctive. They display in fact that personal individuality (whose excess may of course tend to a wearisome mannerism), which can hardly fail to be transferred to the original works of a single mind, whether in architecture or in any other art. And the works of Gower are the more remarkable and valuable, because the trembling claim of Decorated architecture to be admitted as a definite style nowhere finds a nearer approach to a standing place than in his erections. Gower's buildings are most eminently neither Early English nor Perpendicular: not only is their actual detail quite distinct from both,[f] but there is not the slightest approach to the character of either; we miss alike the distinctness of the one and the continuity of the other. But the result is that we are presented with purely negative characteristics; we miss the positive marks of the earlier and later styles, and find no others in their stead. There is the marked impress of an individual mind, but not, as before and after, the expression of an architectural idea.

Unfortunately we have no specimen of what Gower's skill may have been in the original design of a large church. We have but one building to testify to his powers of grouping and composition, and that not a church. But from the Palace of St. David's we may safely infer that his taste in the arrangement of architectural masses must have been of the highest order. No building does more justice to its extent, none exhibits more variety of outline without eccentricity or marked striving after effect; each portion has sufficient distinctness to proclaim its own use and to hinder monotony, but not enough to destroy the harmony and oneness of the general design. In some respects, as we have seen, the hand of the destroyer has been favourable to the appearance of his work, as in the case of the parapet and of the east end of the Great Hall; but we can have no hesitation in pronouncing the skill of Gower in the greatest

[f] The only exception seems to be his forestalling in one place (see above, p. 160) the Perpendicular cavetto. The use of the lancet window is of course mere matter of convenience.

VAULTING SHAFT AND TOMB ARCH,

IN THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE CHOIR

work of an architect, the general design of an extensive building, to have been consummate.

To the boldness and variety of his general outlines some of the characteristic details of his works present a conspicuous, and not a pleasing contrast. What strikes most at first sight is the remarkable flatness carried into almost every detail. Thus his shafts are either octagonal, or else of a form of cluster composed of members hardly projecting or receding at all; his capitals have, for the most part, hardly any projection from the shaft,[g] and are covered with foliage which, though good and rich of its own kind, is among the flattest of flat Decorated work; in his mouldings we find a remarkable absence of light and shade; with one remarkable exception, there is nothing to recall or forestall either the projecting rounds and deep hollows of the Early English, or the bold and effective cavetto of the Perpendicular; his work may be almost everywhere traced by two favourite mouldings, both exemplifying this statement, and one of which he uses in positive profusion.[h] In all these we see the same absence of boldness, a sort of timid adherence to the surface, seeking for ornament, not in the actual carving out of the mass, but in the addition of extraneous enrichment; and even in this he employs the flattest kind, deserting the strongly marked ball-flower, which he uses most rarely, if at all,[i] for the shallow four-leaved flower, which is lavished over all his works in the utmost profusion. In many portions also he is fond of introducing a very shallow sunk quatrefoil. Another instance of flatness is the extreme rarity of the projecting ogee arch so common in contemporary buildings. It occurs in the niches in the porch of his Great Hall, in one in the Rood-screen, and in some of the canopies now worked up into the throne, if these latter be his work; but it

[g] Where this is not the case, he commonly errs in an opposite direction, namely by adding a very spreading capital to a slender bowtell, which last feature alone would be an additional evidence of the other tendency.

[h] The wave moulding, not uncommon in Decorated work everywhere, is especially abundant in the works of our Prelate. We have observed above (p. 65) how it may have been suggested by some of the Transitional work in this Cathedral, where some examples of the double keel approach very closely to it. Here we have the actual form forestalled; otherwise we might compare it with the Early English mouldings in the west doorway at Llandaff producing the effect of a double ogee.—*Llandaff Cathedral*, p. 14. This wave moulding is particularly common in Somerset, both in Decorated and Perpendicular; possibly this may be another sign of connexion between the two districts.

[i] See above, pp. 122, 161.

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is absent from his sedilia, the feature where it is generally found in greatest abundance. Gower is however partial to ogee arches and other complicated forms not involving projection from the surface; witness the arch of the great porch, and the still more unusual form occurring in the Rood-screen, in one of the tombs,[j] and the porch of the Bishop's Hall. This he must have borrowed from Berkeley or Bristol, another instance of the tradition of West of England influence in this district.

But on the other hand, while in less skilful hands many of these characteristics, or at all events so constant a repetition of many of them, would have amounted to a positive fault, so great is the actual beauty of the details themselves, and the perfection and elegance of the workmanship so effectually brings out everything to the best advantage, that they never actually displease or weary, and at most only cause a regret for the absence of still higher forms of art. The crockets and finials are exceedingly rich and graceful, though there is an unpleasant way of confusing the latter with cornices above.[k] The colour of the stone employed, though its nature has greatly tended to expose it to decay, seems also to agree well with the character of the work, just as the forms of Bishop Vaughan's Perpendicular work are best set off by the lighter stone in which they are wrought.

Comparing together these characteristics, we may venture to attribute to this Prelate, or at least to a school originating in his influence, three important architectural remains among the parish churches of his diocese. It has been suggested elsewhere[l] by one of the authors of this volume that the beautiful chancel of Swansea Church may be his work; if so, it would suggest a change of style in one important respect, namely in the article of tracery; for at Swansea we have an excellent series of Geometrical windows, while elsewhere Gower seems ordinarily to have employed Intersecting tracery for the larger, and different types of Flowing for the smaller ones. Carew Church, situated very near the episcopal residence at Lamphey, and, now at least, an episcopal appropriation, may be assigned to Gower with something like a moral certainty. No one but he would have scattered his favourite four-leaved

[j] No. 3, p. 109. There is another instance in the canopy of the tomb of Sir Elidur de Stackpole at Cheriton.

[k] See above, pp. 80, 96.

[l] Archæologia Cambrensis, New Series, Vol. I. p. 56.

flower over the broad surface of a pier arch. The side windows of the chancel are Intersecting, recalling those in the aisles of the Cathedral, but filled in with a subordinate Flowing pattern,[m] as may not impossibly have been the case with some of the richer ones there also. At Hodgeston also are some very beautiful sedilia and a double piscina, which, though they have the ball-flower, still have the general effect of Gower's style. At Monkton, near Pembroke, the Decorated choir and chapel have been so stripped of their ashlar that hardly any detail is left, but the proportion and outline of the sedilia must have been very like those followed by him.

In some at least of these instances there does certainly seem sufficient local connexion for Gower to be reasonably looked on as a probable benefactor. But it is not necessary to suppose him to have been the actual founder of every building in which we may trace his influence. Nothing would be more natural than that, when his great works at St. David's were completed, the architects and masons whom he had employed, should be scattered about the neighbourhood, and employed in other works, where they could hardly fail to reproduce the same peculiarities. In the case of Monkton especially, as belonging to a conventual establishment of some importance, one would not so much look for an actual benefaction of the Bishop, as for the influence of the architectural school which he cannot fail to have founded.

Close Wall, Gateways, &c.:

The fortified wall surrounding the whole of these ecclesiastical establishments is also attributed to Gower,[n] and had the church of Knowlston in Gower appropriated to its support by Houghton,[o] certainly a somewhat singular application of the tithes of a distant parish. It may easily be traced through

[m] Essay on Window Tracery, pp. 128, 278, where the Carew window is engraved.

[n] The non-existence of such an enclosure at a period somewhat anterior to Gower's, seems to be implied in an ordinance of Bishop Beck, in 1287, directing the canons' houses to be enclosed. —*Lib. Stat.* p. 14. On the other hand a document, bearing date 1334, speaks of a certain messuage as being situated "infra clausurã novam" (*ibid.* p. 112); and the existence of the Close Wall is further implied in Gower's statute of 1344, "de numero residentium."—*Ibid.* p. 28.

[o] Lib. Stat. p. 40. Knowlston had previously been appropriated to the support of the Palace; but was assigned to the Close in 1379; and the canons were at the same time ordered to contribute "ad reparationem murorum et portarum dictæ clausuræ enormiter dirutarum et vetustate pro magna parte dilapsarum."—*Ibid.* p. 36. This, at least, looks as if the walls were of older date than Gower: yet this can scarcely be the case.

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nearly the whole of its devious course, but it is only at a few points that any considerable portions of it remain. It is perhaps hardly of the strength that one might have expected, considering its great extent, and the numerous buildings, almost without internal defence, which it includes. It is perfect for a short space at some distance south-west of the Cathedral, where the battlements and the walk behind them, called the "Garret," still remain. Near this is a bridge over the little stream of the Alan, called Pont Cerwen Dewi, which was guarded by a square tower to the east, the basement of which remains, vaulted in the same manner as the crypts of the Palace. This stands upon a second bridge at a rather higher level than the first, which spans a watercourse diverted for the purpose of supplying the episcopal mill at Dewiston.[p] The only other point where the wall itself is at all remarkable is at quite the opposite end of the Close, where the wall is carried over the same stream on an arch. How it was carried over the water at the former point does not appear. It had formerly four gates, facing the cardinal points, and known respectively as the Tower Gate, Boning's Gate, Porth Gwyn, or the White Gate,[q] and Porth Padrig, or St. Patrick's Gate. The second of those stood at the northern side, between the Chancellor's house and that of the Archdeacon of Cardigan. The jambs of the gateway still remain, and it appears to have been defended by a tower. The position of the White Gate on the western side is fixed by the present name of the brow on which it was situated, Pen Porth Gwyn. Not a fragment remains of this or of the

[p] This, at least, is its only use at present; but Archdeacon Yardley informs us that there were the remains of a large building at this point in his time, which he conjectures to have been also an episcopal mill.—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 6. But the following extract from a copy of a lease of Dewiston mill, granted by Bishop Thomas, and confirmed by the Chapter, July 26, 1683, makes it appear that there was no other mill below the Close at that time; and is of some interest as showing what were the rights and privileges which the mill possessed. The premises are described as follows:—

"All that watergrist Mill Comonly called and knowne by the name of Dewston als Dewston Mill neare vnto S^{t}. Dauids together wth the watercourse to the said Mill belonging Called water of Allen, from a place called Kerwin Dewy vnto Porthglase and all Services Suites of tenants, and allsoe one Moyty of the fines w^{ch} shall be laid upon any tenants owing Suite and Service to y^{e} said Mill accordingly by any Steward of the said Lord Bpp̃ in any of his Courts in y^{e} Mano^{r} of Dewisland and all appurtenances w^{t} soever to y^{e} said Mill belonging or in any wise appurtaining."—*Reg. E.* p. 145.

[q] Here Henry II. on his return from Ireland was met by the clergy, and conducted by them to the Cathedral.—*Giraldus, Itin. Camb.* II. c. 1.

southern gate, Porth Padrig. The latter stood on the present road leading to Porthclais, and, like the opposite gate, seems not to have been defended by a tower. Had there been one, we can hardly conceive that it would have been wholly destroyed, as the Close wall is unusually perfect just at this point. The small tower already mentioned is not, as might be supposed, a flanking tower of the southern gate, the exact position of which is fixed not only by local tradition, but by the more decisive testimony of an engraving which appears in Speed's *Great Britaine*,[r] and which represents it as standing. There was also a circular tower at the south-western, or more properly the western, angle of the Close, upon the edge of the steep declivity which backs the Palace, a position where it was probably needed for defence: it also played the more peaceful part of the Bishop's Columbarium, and its site is still popularly known as the "Colomendy."[s]

Tower Gate.

The main gateway of the Close, the Tower Gate, is situated at its highest point in the north-east angle of the churchyard. This forms the principal approach from the town, and its bold outline and commanding position renders it one of the most striking objects in the whole group.

The gateway is flanked on the north side by a singularly fine octagonal tower, on the south by a semicircular one; perhaps it would be more correct to say that the end of the gateway itself is rounded off, as the architectural mass of the tower, marked by a slight increase of height, takes in a portion of the straight walls. This arrangement is not very agreeable to the eye, though common enough in castellated architecture, as may be seen very conspicuously at Carew. We have here nothing very remarkable,—a mere rude piece of defensive work, without any strictly architectural pretensions; the opening is a rough flat segmental arch on each side, with an elliptical one between, and places for two portcullises. Over the gateway is a chamber containing a fireplace; it has however no external approach except through a doorway which can only be reached by a ladder. The semicircular tower is octagonal within, and its lower story has a domical vault of that shape, the upper being unroofed; but as this dome appears to have been renewed through a considerable part of its extent, and as there is inside a sort of shed with the remains of a lean-to roof,

[r] Anno 1610.

[s] From Mr. Lord's plan it seems to have been standing in 1720.

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we must conclude that this story was once exposed to the open air, and that this portion of the edifice has undergone some sort of restoration since its general dilapidation. It is usually considered to have been a prison, and it is said that signs of a circular dungeon may be discovered in the floor; but its present condition so fully realizes the Aristophanic conception of the infernal regions, presenting the σκότος καὶ βόρβορος in their full perfection, that while it excites the more sympathy for those who may have had the ill luck to be its inmates, it may be some excuse for even the most zealous inquirers relaxing their investigations at this point.

Happily in its far more interesting neighbour, though even that is hardly more remarkable for the virtue which is said to rank next to godliness, we have at least the advantage of the light of day, more indeed than our fair share, this structure also being roofless. This octagonal tower is, in fact, from its intrinsic merits, and from the difficulty as to its original intention, one of the most remarkable buildings in St. David's. A very slight inspection will show that it has not the slightest original connexion with the rest of the range with which it is brought into such close juxta-position. Speaking of its general appearance, it may be said to flank the gate, and doubtless it was seized upon by the builders of the latter to answer that purpose; but in fact, both the masonry and the architecture plainly prove the present gateway to have been simply built up against it; a rough military erection of no architectural character whatever is attached to an elaborate structure, as highly finished as any external portion of the Cathedral or the Palace. Its architecture is of the transition from Early English to Decorated, agreeing pretty much with the style of Bishop David Martyn. What remains at present consists of two stages of a massive octagonal tower, without buttresses, which is no loss, as their absence usually allows the effect of a polygonal form to have fuller play. The lower stage has a carefully worked basement moulding, and the upper is slightly recessed with a set-off. In the face most directly fronting the Cathedral is a doorway of considerable size, very much mouldered away, but of which enough remains to show that, though of comparatively simple design, it was of excellent workmanship. The rounds and hollows in the mouldings have all the depth and boldness of their beautiful style; and the jamb-shafts appear to have been finished with floriated capitals. Within, instead of a single rear-arch, is a series of receding round arches, which have a singular effect. The

whole face in which this doorway is placed is externally cased with ashlar, the rest of the tower being, like most other buildings at St. David's, of rubble, with only ashlar quoins and dressings. This lower stage is lighted by two plain lancets, widely splayed within, and with semicircular rear arches; they appear not to have been glazed, as nothing can be discerned except sockets for iron bars. These windows, with the door, are placed in the alternate faces, the one opposite to the door being left blank. This stage appears to have been vaulted—or rather probably only designed for vaulting—as the ashlar of the vaulting shafts has been torn away, and, in some of the faces, the line of the vaulting arch may still be traced. The shafts were corbelled off at some little height from the ground, a fortunate circumstance in the present state of the building, as affording proof positive that it is really the ashlar of shafts that has been picked out, and not merely ashlar quoins. We may here notice a sort of pilaster which appears in one of the sides, and which it is difficult to account for.

The upper story is approached from the lower by a winding staircase in the wall on the side looking towards the town, and externally assuming the form of a flat pilaster dying into the thicker wall of the lower story, just like the buttresses in the College Chapel. This staircase was continued higher than the upper story, and must have been intended to lead either to the battlements or to a higher stage. In each face of this stage is a lancet window under a Decorated label. As these are genuine Early English lancets, and not the trefoil-headed slit of the district, this clearly marks their Transitional character. They are of considerable length, and the lower part of each has been blocked, apparently in no very recent times. These lancets are far more elaborate than those below, for, though without shafts, their jambs have three orders with various coloured stones: these have been glazed after the manner usual in ecclesiastical work. This stage is broken off below its string or parapet; there are no traces left of its roofing, or anything whereby we may ascertain otherwise than on *à priori* grounds, how much higher the whole tower was. It must be remarked that the internal angles of this upper stage are rounded off, by a process exactly opposite to the octagonal shape assumed within by the round tower.

Now what was this tower? It is impossible to believe that so elaborate a structure, every feature of which bespeaks an ecclesiastical, and not a military

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use, was designed merely as the flanking tower of a gateway. It is of course clear that it was so employed afterwards, but only by building up against it a structure entirely unconnected with it, and thereby blocking one of its upper windows. On the other hand, the circumstance of the lower stage having no window in the face next the gate does look very much as if it had been originally connected with a lower gateway which had no room over it. And of course there need be no difficulty in supposing it to have had that secondary military use, to which ecclesiastical buildings were but too often required to be put, and of which the church towers of this county, and indeed of other parts of South Wales, are so conspicuous an instance. All that is contended for is that the primary use of such a structure must have been one more closely connected with the service of the church than its mere defence against open violence. The probability is that this tower was originally designed as a detached campanile or belfry. It must be remembered that such structures, such as still remain at Chichester, Beccles, Irthlingborough, Magdalen and New College, Oxford, &c., were by no means so unusual as they are at present; it having been no uncommon practice to destroy such towers, and to hang the bells in central lanterns originally designed merely for internal effect, as at Romsey and Winchester, of which a notorious instance has occurred at Salisbury almost within our own times. And the erection of a detached campanile just at the time when this tower was built would have been no work of supererogation. Its style fixes it to the period when the church would seem to have had no tower at all capable of holding bells, namely between the fall of the original tower of De Leià—probably, after all, itself a mere lantern —and the Decorated stage added in Gower's time. Till the latter addition, no bells could possibly have been hung in the central tower; did then the Cathedral remain so long without any bells at all? And after the fall of the tower and the earthquake, it would be no wonder if the guardians of the church preferred erecting a detached campanile to raising the central tower: indeed, it would have been well if so salutary a caution had remained longer. Several other special reasons may be conceived why a detached tower might have been practically desirable at St. David's; owing to the low position of the church the sound of the bells is at present far from being carried to so great a distance as might be wished, and this deficiency must have been far more sensible before the tower was raised to its present height. The octagon on the

other hand stands on the site exactly meeting this defect, namely on the most elevated spot of ground within the Cathedral precinct. The probability therefore of a detached campanile existing at St. David's, and in this particular position, is exceedingly great.

But on the other hand, several difficulties meet us in regarding this as the purpose of the existing tower. A bell tower would naturally be much higher than the present structure; this hardly requires proof. It is of course easy to answer that a story or any number of stories may have been destroyed; but it is not usual to find such a stage as the present upper one of this tower serving as anything but a belfry stage. Nothing is more usual than to find the belfry recessed; but it is not common to find so remarkable a diminution of height immediately above the basement story of a tower of three or more stages.

Again, if a belfry stage ever existed above this one, it is hard to see what amount of decoration can, with an intermediate story so light and elaborate, have been reserved, according to the usual law of diminishing massiveness towards the top, to distinguish the belfry itself. The fact of the windows being glazed, unusual in any part of a campanile, would prove nothing, as it is conceivable that they may have been glazed at any subsequent time.

After all, these difficulties are little more than singularities, perhaps not greater than some which we have already met with in other buildings at St. David's. They certainly need not lead us to suppose that its primary use was other than what we have suggested. It was probably left unfinished, and, being rendered useless by the addition of a belfry stage to the central tower in or shortly before Gower's time, was by him applied to its present purpose in the erection of his gateway.

Prebendal Houses, &c.:

The Close is divided by the Alan into two nearly equal parts. The Cathedral with the large cemetery, reaches from the stream to the Tower Gate. The portion lying to the south of it is further divided by the road leading from the Cathedral to St. Patrick's Gate. Above this road, on the east, is situated the Deanry, or more properly the Precentory. A MS. of George Owen, which we have already had occasion to cite, gives the following account of the the arms existing in the Precentor's house towards the close of the sixteenth century:—

Deanry;

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"In the Dining Chamber in the Chantors house there are diverse cotes w^ch^ followe with their superscriptions in glasse as thei now follow next.

"Arma Ecclesiæ with the very cote.

"Arma Dñi Epī

"A gerdon of 8 peeces A. S. on a saultier O 5 cinqfoiles perced of the 3^rd^ betweene 4 floure de luces of the first. This is muche like Byshop Edward Vachans cote, but yt differeth as yt doth appere.

"Mr. John Talley

"Party per bend A & Azure on a plain crosse counterchanged of the field 5 cinqfoiles Ore.

"S^r^ Rees ap Thomas with his cote without the Garter.

"Sir John Woogan with his paternal cote.

"Sir Thomas ap Phillip with his black lion chained as before.

"Sir James abowen with his 3 tristam knotts.

"Lewys ap Rees

"S. a spere hede betweene 3 scaling ladders A.

"All this is on glasse window at the table's end next the Church. In the other window was Sir Owen Perot with his cote as before."[t]

If these arms are any indication of the date of the building, we may safely fix it in the year 1509, as Bishop Vaughan was consecrated, and Precentor Lewys ap Rhys first occurs in that year, in which also John Talley, who was Chancellor, died. Towards the close of the following century the house was in a great measure rebuilt by Precentor Powell,[u] whose successor Dr. John Davies fitted up the dining hall, an apartment thus described by Archdeacon Yardley:—"It consists of a very Hansome Hall, flagged with Black Stone and Red Caerfai Stone intermixed: Ceiled with Woodwork painted: at y^e^ end over y^e^ entry has been a Musick Gallery."[v] This, which is probably the "dining chamber" mentioned by George Owen, survived until the end of the last century, when the present dining room, a detached building, was erected on its site. The remainder of the house built by Precentor Powell, has just given way to a modern building.

Prebend of Llanddewi;

Between this and the Cathedral is a small triangular plot of ground belonging to the Prebend of Llanddewi Aberarth. The house which was standing on this spot, but out of repair, in 1691,[w] and of which "bare Remains"

[t] Sir Thomas Phillips' MS. [u] Men Sac. I. p. 112. [v] *Ibid.* p. 5.

[w] Answers of Precentor Ellis to Bishop Watson's Visitation Queries.—*Reg. E. ad finem.*

existed in 1740,[x] was granted in 1501 by William Wilcock, incumbent of the stall, Canon Residentiary, and Master of St. Mary's College, to the Chaplains officiating in the chantries of Bishop David Martyn, John Wogan, and King Edward, and to their successors, upon payment of an annual rent of 4d.[y] At the destruction of the chantries, it reverted to the stall of Llanddewi, and has since lapsed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Archdeaconry of Caermarthen;

Between the road and the river there are two fields: that to the south, now known as the Chanter's Orchard, is the property of the Bishop; and to this we shall have occasion presently to revert. Between this and the churchyard is the tenement of the Archdeacon of Caermarthen: the house was in ruins at the close of the sixteenth century,[z] and not a fragment remains at present.

Old Grammar School, &c.;

In the churchyard wall, immediately opposite to the ground of the Archdeacon of Caermarthen are the remains of a building originally erected as a work-house for the repairs of the church.[a] A room was subsequently built over this and used as the Grammar School[b] until the year 1791, when it was altered into a Chapter-house, with a large dining hall attached.[c] This structure appears in a view of the Cathedral given by Mr. Manby; and the

[x] Men. Sac. I. p. 6.

[y] Lib. Stat. p. 226.

[z] In 1585 Archdeacon Meredith Morgan was permitted to hold his residence in the house of one of his brethren "ex eo q[d] domus mansional[?] archī p'[dī] p̄decessorū suorū incuria et negligentia ad solū usque diruta est."—*Reg. B.* p. 133. Compare "The answeare of John Ellis D.D. Chanter of the Cathedral Churche of S[t] Dauids, to certeine Arcles deliuered by the Right reu̍end father in god Thomas [Watson] Ld. Bp. of S[t] Dauids, at the Chapter house of the said Cathedral, the 24[th] day of July Anno Dni 1691, & in the fifth yeare of his Lordship's Consecrac̆on." An. 9[th]. "I answeare that the Chanter, Chancell', Tresurer, & The Archdeacon of Brec̆on, haue Houses w[ch] are in indifferent repaire, sauving some uselesse tofts belonging to some of those houses. The P' bends of Llandewy Aberarth, & Penfoyse haue houses, but are out of repaire, whether the Archdeac̆on of St. Dauids promised to build his house or noe, I cannot tell, but the house is still unbuilt. Y[e] Archdeacons of Carmarthen & Cardigan haue not built houses upon theire tofts."—*Reg. E. ad finem.*

[a] Probably the place mentioned in an entry of the year 1565.—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 40.

[b] This is probably the school the erection of which is recorded to have taken place in the year 1557. "I[t] for building the school-house 10[l] 15[s]."—*Lib. Comm.* I. p. 31. The song-school was held in one of the chapels of the Cathedral for some time after this, as appears from the following entry of the year 1571:—"I[t] to Richard Tylere for mending of y[e] chappell for 3 days worke where y[e] queresters goe to y[e] singing school 18[d]."—*Ibid.* p. 47.

[c] Coll. Men. II. p. 451. Fenton, p. 90.

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design, which is due to the taste of Mr. Nash, is extremely difficult to describe, nor would the description be very profitable. At length after nearly forty years of an existence which appears to have satisfied nobody,[d] "in the month of June 1829, the last remains of the Chapter House erected by Mr. Nash" at an expense of £645 12s. 9d.,[e] "were taken down, and the ground levelled."[f]

Calvary[?];

A little higher up the churchyard wall there is a small triangular piece of ground walled in and planted: it is perhaps worthy of notice as the ground rises in a singular node, which has the appearance of being artificial. From its situation and appearance it may be suspected to have been the site of a Calvary.

Cemetery;

The churchyard itself occupies a large space of ground extending from the Tower Gate to the Alan, and includes, together with the Cathedral, the area of the cloisters, and the Chapel of St. Mary's College.[g] Its limits appear not to have been very accurately defined in the thirteenth century, and parts of it were at that period occupied by private houses. The repeated measures which were taken for their removal, are instructive as illustrating the uncertain titles to property, and to a certain extent, the state of religious feeling in that age. An ordinance to this effect was made by Bishop Thomas Wallensis in 1253,[h] and was followed up by another issued by Richard de Carew in 1259,[i] and

[d] Coll. Men. II p. 300. Fenton, p. 91. Manby, p. 47.

[e] Coll. Men. II. p. 452. [f] *Ibid.* p. 306.

[g] The latter is always described as situated "infra cimiterium."

[h] "Amoveantur domus de cimiterio Eccliæ Menev infra terminũ a Dnõ Epõ assignandum, scilicet Pentecosten proximè futuram: quod si õ fuerit factũ excõicentur rebelles et ad mandatũ Eccliæ capiantur, si fuerit necesse. Ut autem pateat quæ domus fuerint amovendæ, requiratur per Seniores fide dignos qui sint veri limites seu fines dicti cimiterii."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 7. This copy gives the date 1263, but erroneously.

[i] The passage is worth citing *in extenso*, as a curious specimen of ecclesiastical legislation:—"Item quia in domibus laicaliter viventiũ multa fiunt polluta, nec congruè conjunguntr Archa Dni et Dagen; et habet fides catholica, quòd non tantum archa set templũ Dñi sunt viri sancti quorũ reliquiæ ut plerumqꝫ in Cimiterijs requiescunt: ne Sancti canibus aut margaritæ porcis, aut, quod majus est, Sanctorũ reliquiæ spurcitijs polluantur, ad Dei honorificentiã et Sanctorũ veneraõnem coñuniter statutum est, quòd domus Laicorũ in cimiterio Menev Eccliæ existentium infra festũ beati Michaelis proximè sequens penitus amoveantur. Quod si factum õ fuerit, dum tamen interim canonicè moveantur, excõicentur rebelles, deinde si necesse fuerit ad mandatũ Eccliæ capiantur."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 21.

making reflections on the moral character of the laity, which, if all that is recorded be true, they did not exclusively deserve.

Vicars' College;

On the north of the cemetery, besides the remains of St. Mary's College already described, there are a few inconsiderable fragments of the residence formerly assigned to the Vicars Choral. They appear to have been originally placed in a common dwelling by Bishop Beck; although his statute, made in the year 1287, allowed a certain amount of latitude,[j] which was taken away by the more stringent ordinances of Houghton in 1379. The latter requires them all to live within the same precincts, "et nullus extra," the Priests, the Deacons, and the Sub-deacons occupying separate houses.[k] We have no means of determining how far or to what extent this arrangement survived the Reformation; but it must have been partially broken up, when celibacy was no longer imposed upon the clergy.[l] It will be seen presently that in 1562 one of the lay vicars kept a "tavern," and another in 1571 appears to have contracted an alliance which, by whatever name it was to be called, was wholly inconsistent with the requirements of a collegiate life. Accordingly, towards the close of the same century we find the buildings in a dilapidated condition, and the Chapter, on the representation of the vicars themselves, giving orders for their repairs.[m] It would seem from the terms of this order that the College was to be repaired with the view of accommodating the vicars themselves, and not with the intention of letting it to tenants. Another order was made as late as 1693, and probably with the same intention:[n] it appears, however, that the

[j] The statute directs that "Vic^{ii} domus proprias non habentes simul habitent, et quod domus ad ipsor^{m} habitac̃oem specialiter construatur." Some, however, are permitted to live in the houses of their respective Canons, they being non-resident.—*Lib. Stat.* p. 14.

[k] *Ibid.* p. 39.

[l] Archdeacon Yardley ascribes the destruction of the Vicars' College in the first instance to Bishop Barlow.—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 74.

[m] "Die sabbati viz. xxvj^{o} die Julij 1578.

"At w^{ch} day upon the sight of the evidence of the vicars choralls m^{r} Chaunt^{r} Hyeth wth the chapit^{r} ordered and decreed that all the p̃dic̃ons of the queere howsoever [?] due shalbe levyed by the steward of the vicars for the tyme beying and . . . . bestowed upon the repara c̃ons of the vicars houses now in decay and so from tyme to tyme to bestowe all the sd̄ p̃dic̃ons and penalties towards the repara c̃ons afforesd untill y^{e} sayd houses wth appurtenances be sufficiently repared."—*Reg. B.* p. 5.

[n] "The Chanter & Chapter with one assent and Consent in their Chapter house (the viccars

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latter was not acted upon, as a quarter of a century later there was nothing but "large Ruins" remaining, among which those of the refectory could still be distinguished.[o] At a somewhat later date we find a small portion of the building inhabited, the remainder having been almost entirely destroyed.[p] About the commencement of the present century a great part of the materials were carried away to build a house at the upper end of High Street;[q] and nothing remains beyond a portion of the walls of a small rectangular building. There are however marks of more extensive buildings, and the declivity seems to have been scarped down so as to form a sort of terrace running north and south, upon which it is possible that the houses may have been built street-wise as at Wells.[r] The north-eastern portion of the Close, together with a large field external to it, called Parc-y-Bonws, is still the property of the Lower Chapter.

Chancellor's House;

The western portion of the Close is divided by the road leading from the Cathedral to Porth Gwyn, having on the south the Palace with its appurtenances, and on the north the remaining houses: the latter are further separated into two sections by a road running at right angles to that last mentioned from Boning's Gate, on the north side of the Close. Entering at this gate we have on the right a piece of ground which was granted to the Chapter by Chancellor John Gome in the year 1334, as a site for the Chancellor's residence, subject to the annual payment of a mark by that

Choralls all then p̃sent) did admonish the said viccars Chorals not to renew or grant any Lease but at St. James tyde and then to acquaint the said Chanter and Chapter thereof and to advise with them concerning the same.

"The viccars alsoe were then admonished to sett by parte of the next fine they receive towards the rebuilding of their house now ruinous and decayed & to provide for y^e^ dooing the same."—*Reg. G.* p. 77.

[o] Browne Willis, p. 30.

[p] "Next adjoining to y^e^ North & East, & extending to y^e^ Walls of y^e^ Close, are y^e^ Ground & Ruins of y^e^ Houses belonging to y^e^ Vicars Choral, now almost Level with y^e^ Earth; one Small Cottage only excepted which is now Inhabited. Here y^e^ Vicars lived, as Petty Canons, in a Collegiate Manner; having a Chapel & Common Hall, all in ruins, *hardly to be distinguished.*" —*Men. Sac.* I. p. 7.

[q] Coll. Men. I. p. clxxxvii.

[r] This, however, was not the case, if the dotted lines in Lord's plan of the Close represent foundations which could be traced at the time.

dignitary to the Chapter.[s] In case of the non-residence of the Chancellor, the house was to be at the disposal of the Chapter for the benefit of the church. He was also bound to keep it in repair; "aut alias novas domos æquivalentes seu meliores suis sumptibus construi faciet." The house was rebuilt early in the sixteenth century by Chancellor David Stradling, whose arms were visible in the hall window a hundred years ago.[t] This building, or some portion of it, was standing within the last few years, when the present incumbent erected an excellent house on its site.

Archdeaconry of Cardigan;

On the left of the road are inconsiderable fragments of the ancient house attached to the Archdeaconry of Cardigan, which seems to have been habitable as recently as 1565,[u] but which was destroyed before 1691.[v] The ruins exhibit some of the characteristic corbelling of the district.

Treasury;

Adjoining this, and separated from it by a lane leading to an old arched bridge over the Alan, is the Treasurer's house. The present building was erected early in the present century, on the site of a much larger house built by Treasurer Owen Pole at the close of the fifteenth. It had a large hall, and the entrance was flanked by a strong embattled tower, the upper story of which was supposed to have been designed as a muniment room.[w] The garden

[s] Lib. Stat. pp. 112, 128.

[t] Men. Sac. I. p. 21. They are thus blazoned by George Owen:—

"In the Chancellors Hall window

"4 cotes quarterid 1 Az 2 pales A on a bende G a mullet Ore 2 Checkey 9 & A a fesse Ermyne, 3 Az a chevarne betwene 3 cresants O 4 as the first.

"This is the arms of Stradling of Glamorganshere set there as yt shold seme by Dd Stradling w^ch^ was Chanceller there."—*Sir Thomas Phillips' MS.*

These arms are engraved in Browne Willis' work, and marked No. 43. See above, p. 136.

[u] In a Chapter held the 28th of July, 1565, complaint is made "That on the xxii day of November, In the archdeacon's House of Cardigan, there were c'tayne of the vicars & other suspiciousely pleying at cards for candells in the same House of Cardigan sclanderousely to the churche of St. Davids."—*Reg. A.* p. 113.

[v] See above p. 215, *Note.*

[w] This was probably the room which bore the name of "Ystafell yr Aur" ("The Gold Chamber.")—*Fenton*, p. 67. The plate belonging to the church was until a very recent period kept in the Treasurer's house, even though the Treasurer himself was not resident; a fact which enables us to assign a use to the apartment in question. Popular tradition marked it out as the birth-place of St. Patrick!

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wall, which is embattled, still remains, and contains a rough four-centred gateway, with a stone seat for a porter within it, and a small postern of the same form better worked. The initials of Treasurer Pole (O. P.) were visible as late as the middle of the last century in several quarries in the windows.[x]

Prebend of St. Nicholas;

Between this and the Cathedral, and nearly opposite to the entrance to the Palace, is the house belonging to the stall of St. Nicholas Pen-y-ffôs, rebuilt by a lessee early in the last century.[y] West of the road leading to Boning's Gate, and between the Chancellor's house and the Palace, are the houses of the Archdeacons of St. David's and Brecon, both rebuilt within the present century. That of the former, which stands to the south, occupies a site in the

Archdeaconry of St. David's;

possession of the Archdeacons of St. David's as early as 1332.[z] A house which existed in this ground and was destroyed in the Civil War, bore the name of Rudd's House,[a] from Robert Rudd, Archdeacon from 1607 to 1644, but whether from his having partially rebuilt it, or from any other cause, does not appear.[b] It was rebuilt by Archdeacon Medley towards the close of the seventeenth century.[c] It appears however that the chapel of the original

[x] Men. Sac. I. p. 137.

[y] *Ibid.* I. p. 7.

[z] Grant of David Francis to the Vicars Choral of St. David's, Lib. Stat. pp. 161, 162. He grants "unã placeam terræ, cum curtilagiis et ædificijs superædificatis in p̄cinctu Sanctuarii Eccliæ Men. quæ quondam fuit Dñi Walteri Beel Capellani" . . . et "jacet inter Dnī Archīdiaconi Brechõn in partibus borealibus et orientalibus," on the condition that "omnes Archī Men. successores mei in posterã dictam placeam cum curtilagio et ædificijs *domibus suis inibi adjunctis* habeant, dum tantũ die anniversarij mei dictis Vicarijs et suis successoribus dimidiam marcã argenti faciant persolvi. Ita quòd mansũ suũ una cum dictà Placeà curtilagio et ædificijs meretur singulis annis de XX^{s} argenti dictis Vicariis persolvendis." This appears to fix the position of the manse of the Archdeacon of St. David's somewhere to the south-west of that of the Archdeacon of Brecon. But it is more definitely fixed by a grant of Bishop Gower to the Vicars, bearing date 1334, of a piece of land "situatũ inter domos dicti Venerabilis Patris [the Bishop] ex parte una, et tenẽtum Walteri Bel Capellani ex altera parte cum magno orto integro et õibus aliis pertinent' usque ad clausurã Eccliæ Menev̄." —*Ibid.* p. 110.

[a] Men. Sac. I. pp. 8, 9, 160.

[b] Archdeacon Yardley attributes the name to his "being renowned by y^{e} Poor for His Hospitality, for which He is to this day Honourably mentioned at St. Florence," of which place he was sinecure rector.—*Ibid.* I. p. 160.

[c] *Ibid.* I. p. 165. See above, p. 215, *Note.* Browne Willis, (p. 166) attributes the rebuilding to Bishop Watson; and it may perhaps be inferred from Precentor Ellis' answer that it was done at his instigation; indeed Yardley *(ubi supra)* directly asserts that it was so.

structure survived until the erection of the present one. There was also a large hall.

Archdeaconry of Brecon;

The site of the Archdeacon of Brecon's house was bequeathed to the Chapter, by Henry de Villamloft Archdeacon of Brecon, and granted by them to Adam de Barrett and his successors in 1278.[d] A house was built here by Archdeacon Walter at the beginning of the sixteenth century,[e] and existed until within a few years of the present time. Besides a dining hall of considerable size, it had a remarkable feature in a large porch, sculptured with shields of arms and other devices, which are still preserved. There are five pieces:—

1. The arms of Henry VII., France and England quarterly, supported on the dexter side by a dragon, and on the sinister by a greyhound collared, and surmounted by an imperial crown between two Tudor roses. In the lower corner on the right hand, there is a Stafford knot.

2. The arms of Bishop Morgan,[f] surmounted by a mitre.

3. The arms of Sir Rhys ap Thomas,[g] surrounded by the garter, and surmounted by a riband adorned with hands and spear-heads alternately, and inscribed Georg B . .

4. Three bulls' heads erased, on a chief two griffins.

5. This appears to be a fragment of No. 1; and is almost impracticable. It appears to represent a lion supporting a shield bearing a lion rampant.

"Domus juxta Pontem;"

In a small triangular piece of ground between the Palace and the prebendal house of St. Nicholas, there is a whitewashed cottage standing close to the stream. This is still the property of the choristers, and there can be little doubt that it occupies the site of a building designed for their accommodation. It is also probable that it contained lodgings for such other inferior members of the Cathedral establishment as were not members of the Vicars' College, and that it is the building described in the Chapter accounts of 1384, as the "cameræ" or "loggys clericorum."[h] It appears to have been perperverted from this use as early as 1565, when it appears in the rent-roll of

[d] Lib. Stat. p. 117. [e] Men. Sac. I. p. 175. [f] See above, p. 135. [g] See above, p. 133.
[h] Lib. Comm. I. pp. 12, 5. This seems at least more probable than that the term should be used to denote the habitation of the Vicars Choral, who are never called simply "clerks."

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the Chapter under the title of "Domus juxta pontem."[i] The present building is of the commencement of the last century, according to Archdeacon Yardley, who informs us, however, that it occupies the position formerly allotted to the Bishop's slaughter-house.[j] Close to this house is the north-western approach to the churchyard, by a small bridge which crosses the Alan at this point. It occupies the position of the celebrated Llechllafar, or "Speaking stone," which it seems to have supplanted before the sixteenth century.[k] The stone itself, however, existed in the time of Giraldus, and is described by him as a slab of marble ten feet in length, and six in breadth, and one foot in thickness, laid across the stream, and polished by the feet of wayfarers. It seems to have been regarded with peculiar reverence, and it was held unlawful to pollute it by the presence of a dead body. On one occasion as we are told, as a corpse was being carried across it, it broke out into an indignant remonstrance; but the exertion was too much for it, and it split. Upon this stone, as foretold by Merlin, a king of England returning from the conquest of Ireland, was to die, wounded by a red-handed man, a prediction applied to Henry II. by a woman whose petition he had rejected. The king stopped, made an oration to the stone, and passed over scatheless and undaunted, to make his orisons at the shrine of St. David.[l]

"Llechllafar;"

We have now gone through all the buildings still remaining in the Close, and those of which the site can be determined. Perhaps this is the place to inquire whether there is reason to suppose that any other prebendal houses existed at any time. It is evident that other houses existed within the Close, many of them being private property, which were gradually appropriated to ecclesiastical uses.[m] It appears that there were not houses enough for all the canons in 1287,[n] and all canons having spots of ground were ordered to build houses within two years from that time. In 1344 it was ordered that if the

[i] Lib. Comm. I. p. 38. [j] Men. Sac. I. p. 12.

[k] "The writer hereof (of verie purpose) in the year 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an arched bridge, under which fleeteth the brooke aforesaid. . . . And for the veritie of the foresaid stone there is no certaintie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to have been there in times past."—*Holinshed's Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 25. *Note by John Hooker*, alias *Vowell*.

[l] Giraldus, Itin. Camb. II. c. 1. [m] Lib. Stat. pp. 117, 128. [n] *Ibid.* p. 14.

canons in residence should not exceed ten, they should reside in their houses within the Close, and those who had no house of their own should occupy the houses of Canons non-resident. If however there should be more than ten, the surplus were allowed to live in the town, but near to the Close.[o] This appears to fix the number of houses then existing at ten, and as the Close was walled in at that period, and all the ground within it appears to have been occupied, we may conceive that to have been the greatest number which existed at any subsequent time. Now we have been able to enumerate only nine houses, viz. those of the three dignitaries, the four archdeacons, and the prebendaries of Llanddewi and St. Nicholas. But in a statute of Bishop Fastolfe, 1358, mention is made of a canonical house between the Archdeacon of Caermarthen's land and the wall of the Close, but apparently not attached to any particular stall.[p] This must have stood in a small field, the property of the Bishop, between the precentor's land and the Alan; and it is evident from the statute that it was built upon episcopal land. Faint traces of a building exist against the Close wall at this point, and are apparently contemporaneous with the wall itself; although the evidence is not very clear, as the site has since been occupied by a modern out-house. This house would seem to have been destroyed before the close of the fifteenth century, at all events it was diverted from its previous destination, as the ground was granted by Bishop Parry to Precentor John Howel for a term of ninety-nine years under the title of a garden, and bearing the name of Guidon's Place; no mention whatever is made of a house, but the name appears to imply that a house had existed there.[q]

"Guidon's Place."

We have thus gone through our survey of all the buildings comprised within

Outlying Chapels:

[o] Lib. Stat. p. 28.

[p] No arrest or execution was to be made within the Close. "Salvis semper nobis et successoribus nostris Epis redditibus duorum Solidorum de Manso Canonici qui pro tempore fuerit inter Mansum Archidiaconi de Kermerdyn et ꝑdictum Clausum."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 46. Confirmed by Bishop Gilbert, 1392; *Ibid.* p. 199. The "clausum" must here be the wall of the Close.

[q] "Unū Gardinū vocaꝯ Gydonys Place jacentem infra muros seu clausurā Canonicorū Eccliæ Men. ꝑdicꝯ ex parte australi inter viam quæ ducit ab Ecclia per portam Australem versus Whitewell ex parte orientali, et aquam quæ vocatur Alen ex parte orientali, et unū murū situatū in dicto Gardino juxta mansū Archī Kermerdunæ ex parte boreali et murū dictæ clauŝuræ ex parte Australi."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 227. The reserved rent was 14d.

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the Close, from the Cathedral Church downward. The architectural remains existing in other parts of the parish are, as might be expected, of no great extent; but two or three fragments of some interest are still in existence.

St. Justinian's;

Previously to the Reformation there were several detached chapels in different parts of the parish, especially near to the sea-coast; of these the only vestiges of any importance are to be found at St. Justinian's or Capel Stinan, where the chapel is tolerably perfect, being roofless indeed, but having suffered comparatively little damage in other respects. This little ruin stands in a spot with which it well harmonizes, being placed almost immediately over the cliffs which shelter a small harbour of the Sound,[r] and is, at present at least, at a considerable distance from any human dwelling. Its main use was probably for the devotions of mariners who may have been driven in by stress of weather, and one can hardly help suspecting that it may have served the purpose of a lighthouse as well as a chapel.[s] The widely different legend from which the building takes its title will be given presently; but the name of Justinian, in connexion with ecclesiastical art, can hardly fail to suggest ideas which will find nothing here to answer them; the dome of St. Sophia is not so much as represented by the vaults which we have traced through so many buildings of St. David's and its neighbourhood.

The present structure is attributed to Bishop Vaughan, and no small praise is due to him for a discretion not always shared by the architects of his age, in entirely deserting the gorgeous forms which he so well knew how to employ for others which alone are adapted to its wild and solitary position. Plain Perpendicular, unless very skilfully managed, has too often a tendency to become at once meagre and flaunting; here it is content to be merely rude and simple like its predecessors. The chapel is a mere oblong, forty feet by seventeen feet six inches in its internal dimensions, and with walls which, in the highest part now remaining, do not exceed an elevation of twelve feet. It appears, which is certainly to be regretted, that it must have been covered with a low roof of timber. One cannot but think that the rough vaulting of

[r] See above, p. 13.

[s] The little church of St. Fiacre among the ruins of Penmarc'h on the coast of Brittany has a tower which formerly served as a lighthouse, but is now superseded by a gigantic *Phare* erected hard by.

the district would have been its most appropriate covering. A rough corbel-table runs round the whole building, being cut into by the arch of the east window. This formerly supported an embattled parapet,[t] of which no trace now remains. At both the east and west ends slight signs of gables can be made out against the parapet, which seem rather like the lines of roofs rising from a lower point of the same wall, and subsequently built upon, than those of buildings erected against the chapel; of these last two may be traced, a ruined cottage still adjoining its west end. This is not easy to account for, as the building looks all of a piece, and does not seem to have been altered or patched previous to its desecration. It was unroofed soon after the Reformation,[u] and has probably continued so till the present day.

Within there are three wide arches on each side formed in the thickness of the wall, but the two sides do not tally. On the north there is a break in the arcade, if so it may be called, owing to one of the doorways being placed in the full thickness of the wall, while on the south side the arches are continuous. A similar arch occupies the east end, the east window, which has a segmental head, and has been shorn of whatever tracery it had, being placed beneath it. Another occupies the northern part of the west end, the south-west angle being filled up with a staircase, but the turret[v] is no more. The distinction of chancel and nave, though not marked constructively, appears not to have been forgotten even in this little structure, as the site of the screen is fixed by traces of a step across the chapel dividing it into two equal portions. A large hole in the wall on either side at this point, was probably designed to receive the rood-beam, a substitute for a loft sometimes employed in small and poor churches. There are traces of a piscina, the ashlar having been picked out, and above it a recess or ambry. The orientation is east by south.

The north side, that away from the sea, was the show side. We here have in this small space two doorways, one in the nave and one in the chancel, both four-centred, with the arch formed of two stones. There was no doorway on the south side, but apparently a third at the west end, a remarkable, and, one

[t] Browne Willis, p. 59.

[u] *Ibid.*

[v] "It hath been as good a kind of Building as most Churches in Wales, with Battlements Round it and a Tower at one End in which were formerly Bells."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 2.

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would think, unnecessary number in so small a building. There were also three windows on each side, but most of them quite small apertures whose ashlar jambs have been picked away. That in the eastern bay of the north side was clearly a two-light window under a square label; in the central bay on the south there remains the head of a single-light trefoil-headed one, while that in the south-western compartment is still perfect, for, being a mere slit of the rudest character, it presented no ashlar to tear away. All the remaining ashlar is of a purple sandstone found close at hand, and similar to that which is quarried at Caerfai.

St. Justinian, according to the legend handed down by Capgrave,[w] was an Armorican by birth, who, seeking a place of retirement, landed upon the isle of Ramsey, then called Limeneia, where he found Honorius, the son of Tyfriog, a British prince, settled as an anchorite. Here he established himself under the special patronage of St. David, who became so great an admirer of his sanctity, evinced by a succession of miracles, as to make him his confessor. At length his servants, weary of his strict discipline, conspired to kill him. Where he fell a well sprang up, afterwards noted for miraculous cures. His murderers were smitten with leprosy, and withdrew to an isolated rock which still bears the name of Gwahan-garreg (the "Lepers' rock"), where they passed the rest of their days in penitence. The corpse of Justinian walked across the Sound, carrying its head in its arms, landed at Porthstinan, and was buried where the chapel now stands. But St. David translated it to a new tomb in his own church, in which he was subsequently buried himself. The memory of the martyr was celebrated on the 5th of December.[x] Whether this "most outrageous legend," as it has been justly called,[y] contains a basis of truth, it is unnecessary to inquire; but one of its circumstances is apparently founded in a false interpretation of the name Gwahan-garreg, which may mean, and probably does mean, the "Dividing rock," from its dividing the current of the Sound.[z]

St. Non's;

In a part of the parish quite removed from St. Justinian's, being on the other side of the city, and near St. Bride's Bay, are some remains of wall which

[w] Capgrave, foll. cci. ccii.
[x] See above, p. 103, *Note.*
[y] Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 239.
[z] See above, p. 18.

traditionally go by the name of St. Non's Chapel, and which contain some part of the masonry of the original structure. A circuit of four ruined walls of small elevation can still be made out, but there is no architectural feature whatever, and as the wall appears much patched, it seems most likely that we have here in some parts the basement of the old chapel, with part of a wall built on it after it was employed as a dwelling house. The lower portion of the wall, in the part which seems most authentic, exhibits a sort of Cyclopean masonry, being built of blocks of enormous size and rudeness. The walls, measured externally, cover a space about thirty-eight feet by twenty-one, the greater dimension being north and south. It is possible that something may be lost on the eastern side, as here the original wall has been replaced by a dry stone fence, into which is built a large incised stone, bearing a cross inscribed in a circle. The whole circuit is now piled up with stones gathered from the neighbouring field, which preclude any effectual examination of the interior. It may be conjectured from the description given of the chapel by those who recollect it in a more perfect state that it was similar in style to that of St. Justinian. One would scarcely expect interments to have taken place in a building of this size and description, yet stone coffins were discovered here within the present century;[a] and a small brass of the fifteenth century representing the half-length figure of a priest in Eucharistic vestments, with the hands clasped, was found in this place, and is now preserved in the house of the Archdeacon of Brecon. The chapel was dedicated to Non or Nonnita, the mother of St. David,[b] and close by is a spring bearing her name, which will be described in its proper place.

Gwrhyd:

The sites of other outlying chapels can still be determined. One of them, called Capel-y-Gwrhyd, stood near the lower road to Fishguard, a little beyond the bridge over the Alan, which still retains the name. The appellation signifies "the Fathom Chapel," and here, says Archdeacon Yardley, "they ridiculously shew what is called S^{t} David's Fathom, or y^{e} Length of

[a] "In digging for earth within the ruined walls of the chapel, stone coffins were found, and part of a curious image of rude pottery glazed, being the head and shoulders of a male figure. It was hollow, and filled with a prodigious hard cement, and is now in the possession of Mr. Archdeacon Davies."—*Fenton*, p. 113. The writer surely cannot mean the brass?

[b] An account of St. Non will be given in Chapter VII.

his Expanded Arms upon an Arch in y[e] Chapel, which is about 3 yards & half long."[c] This seems to imply that there were considerable remains of the chapel as recently as the middle of the last century; but at present every vestige has disappeared. A small stone basin, scarcely large enough for a font, without a water-drain, and therefore probably a stoup belonging to this chapel, is still in existence at the farm of Gwrhyd-fach, near the site of the chapel. It is round, fifteen inches in diameter, with four projecting ears. One of similar size and design was found at Llandrillo in Merionethshire.[d] The position of the chapel is fixed by a small field enclosed by a rude stone wall, bearing the name of Parc-y-Capel.

St. Patrick's;

The same name is given to a field at the northern end of Whitesand Bay, at the commencement of the ascent to Carn Llidi. This probably marks the place of St. Patrick's Chapel, and the foundations of a small building, called by tradition a chapel, are still visible in the middle of the field. This building measured internally about thirty feet by thirteen, and had its orientation east by south. It was wholly destroyed before the end of the sixteenth century.[e] A place called St. Patrick's Seat was shown in the middle ages as the spot from whence the saint beheld in a vision the whole island of which he was to be the apostle.[f] There can be no doubt that this chapel was erected on the spot, and its position with reference to Carn Llidi, to which it is possible that Giraldus alludes, certainly increases the miracle.

Y Pistyll;

On the right bank of the Alan, near Porthclais, stood a chapel denominated Capel-y-Pistyll, from a small spring which "ran under it into a Cistern at y[e] East under y[e] Pinion or Gabel of y[e] Building."[g] This spring, which still

[c] Men. Sac. I. p. 3. St. David was traditionally represented as a person of unusual stature.

[d] See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, New Series, Vol. I. p. 332.

[e] Browne Willis, p. 54.

[f] "Continuò in Zephyrum oculos vertens, totam Insulam ex loco, qui hodie sedes Patricii dicitur, trans maris et montium tam interstitia quam obstacula tanta, miraculosè perspexit."—*Ang. Sac.* II. 630. "His dictis erectisq; oculis de loco in quo stabat et erat vallis satis magna in quo est lapis sup quē stetit ante hostium cuiusdā capelle antique quē ego oculis vidi et manibus palpavi: totā prospexit insulā."—*Capgrave*, fol. lxxxiij.

[g] Men. Sac. I. p. 2. Browne Willis, p. 53.

serves to mark the position of the chapel, was said to have been miraculously produced for the baptism of St. David.[h]

Another well situated a short distance from the wall of the Close, to the south-east, gave the name of Whitewell to a chapel, fragments of which existed at the beginning of the present century.[i] A hospital was founded here by Bishop Beke, and endowed with property valued in 1326 at £5.[j] This was annexed by Bishop Houghton to his new College of St. Mary, and appears to have constituted its sole endowment in temporalities.[k] The Bishop was fined £20 for appropriating it without the royal license, though the fine was afterwards remitted.[l]

Whitewell;

Another chapel stood at Cwmwdig, about four miles on the road to Fishguard; and at Groes-goch, about a mile and a half further, there is a field bearing the name of Parc-y-Fynwent, or the Churchyard Field, which seems to mark the position of a church or chapel. There is also said to have been one at a short distance from Capel-y-Gwrhyd.[m] Besides these there were two on Ramsey Island dedicated to St. Justinian and St. Dyfanog respectively. They are now utterly destroyed, but there seem to have been remains of them in the last century.[n] The chapel of St. Justinian was placed near the southern extremity of the island, the other to the north.[o]

Cwmwdig;

Parc-y-Fynwent:

Chapels on Ramsey.

The document preserved by Browne Willis informs us that oblations were made at these chapels to an amount which may fairly be called fabulous:—"What was there offer'd, was carry'd to the Cathedral and divided every

[h] "Ad baptizandi namque ministerium aquæ limpidissimæ fons illico prorupit, qui usque hodie in loco qui Porthcleis appellatur cernentibus apparet."—*Ang. Sac.* II. 631.

[i] Fenton, p. 114.

[j] "Item dicunt quod Thomas de Beek Epŝ Men. ordinavit locũ qui vocatur Whytewell, nomine Hospitalis p debilibus & impotẽtibus Capellãis & aliis ad hospitalitatẽ tenẽdã & assignavit eidem Domui iii Burgagia, & in villa Menŝ iiii acras & dimid. terræ, & terram ser . . [?] in diŵsis locis & valet p' annũ secũdũ verũ valorum c sol."—*Extenta terrarum Epī Men.* 1326.

[k] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 382. Valuation of St. Mary's Coll. 27 Henry VIII., First Fruits' Office, *apud* Men. Sac. I. p. 285.

[l] Rymer's Fœdera, 12 Ric. II.

[m] Men. Sac. I. p. 3.

[n] "They are both in ruins."—*Ibid.*

[o] Browne Willis, p. 59.

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Saturday among the *Canons* and *Priests*. Some yet living, can remember since the *Offering-Money* was brought on *Saturdays* to the *Chapter-House*, and there divided by Dishfuls, the Quantity not allowing them Leisure to tell it."[p] This statement is probably to be looked upon as a specimen of antiquarian gossip, but the sums received at these chapels were undoubtedly very considerable. In the year 1490 the Chapter received £11 from the chapels of St. Justinian, St. Non and Gwrhyd, and the same sum was received the year but one after.[q] These are the only years previous to 1539 in which we have any account of the receipts in the Chapter records; but as the same amount is given as the average value of the oblations made at these and the other chapels, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII.,[r] it is pretty clear that they were let for, and therefore ordinarily exceeded, that sum. The next account that we have of these chapels is in the year 1557, when they are still made profitable, but in a very different way: St. Nun's lets (probably as a dwelling-house) for the yearly sum of five shillings, while the annual value of St. Justinian's does not rise above twenty pence.[s] It is probable that the three chapels above specified were of more importance than the rest, and they still remain in the possession of the Chapter. Capel-y-Pistyll was alienated almost within the memory of man.

Domestic Remains:

In this, as in many other parts of South Wales, there is no lack of rough substantial houses of stone, apparently of a date by no means common in England, but presenting no architectural features except an occasional rude pointed arch as a doorway, and the characteristic and highly picturesque chimney of the district. The most remarkable of those which fall within our limits is situated in the street leading to Fishguard, and is sometimes called a Nunnery,[t] though apparently on no better ground than the fact of the street in which it stands being called Nun or Non Street, a name most probably

Town of St. David's;

[p] Browne Willis. pp. 54, 55.

[q] Lib. Comm. I. pp. 13, 19.

[r] "De oblacionib⁹ capellarū Sancte Nonite m̃ris Sancti David Sancti Justiniani & aliar' capellarū in circuitu stacionum Sancti David ꝑpe Meneven' cōmunib⁹ annis xj^li."—*Valor Eccl.* Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 381.

[s] Lib. Comm. I. p. 30.

[t] We have left this description as it was originally written; but we are sorry to have to add that, since that time, nearly the whole of the building has been destroyed to make room for a modern house.

derived from the saint whose chapel and well have been just mentioned. It consists of two stories without communication with each other, the upper being approached by an external flight of steps. Here are two pointed doorways, and another below to the under story, which has vaulting of the usual kind. The doorways have chamfers, as has another in the neighbourhood, and, rude as they are, they are better worked than in many similar examples. Another and more probable use has been assigned to it by tradition or conjecture: it is said to have been an alms-house; but it is perhaps unnecessary to assign to it any other use than that of an ordinary dwelling-house, of which class, from its probable date, it is a valuable specimen. A discovery of several graves in an adjoining field, which took place some years since, may be thought to bear upon the question.[u]

In the same street, nearly opposite, is a rather curious old house, and another about a hundred yards further to the north. In fact a considerable number of farm-houses which merit attention are scattered over the parish and neighbourhood of St. David's. One feature, apparently peculiar to this district, is the arrangement of the entrance, which here is almost universal in the earlier houses. An immense projecting chimney, the upper part of which is generally round,[v] rises in front between two small projections of equal size with lean-to roofs, producing externally the effect of an aisle. One of these is used as a porch, and the other as a small pantry. A curious instance of an arrangement similar in effect, though slightly departing from this type, is found at the farm of Gwrhyd-fach, already referred to.[w] A small porch with a lean-to roof, and seats in the wall on each side, leads by a rude pointed arch not chamfered to a passage running right across the house. To the left of this is a large apartment, having four deep recesses, two in front and two behind, with a small window in each. Three of these, including the two to the front, are covered internally by a rude segmental barrel vaulting, the fourth is merely

Farm Houses;

Gwrhyd-fach;

[u] The Elizabethan writer whose account is preserved by Browne Willis, mentions the existence of an alms-house, which was in ruins even in his time:—"I was shewed some old Walls at the End of the Town, where they say there was once an Alms-House. But it is now wholly destroy'd. Indeed the whole Town seems to be little better than a Collection of Alms-Houses, where every Man is apter to take than to give."—pp. 66, 67. The remark is happily no longer applicable.

[v] See above, p. 200.

[w] See above, p. 228.

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separated by an arch of the same form. Externally, they are covered by lean-to roofs, the one in front being a continuation of that of the porch, and between them are solid masses of masonry. In this house are preserved the remains of an oak wardrobe, or some similar piece of furniture, consisting of exquisitely rich open carving probably of the early part of the sixteenth century. It looks rather like ecclesiastical work, and may have been constructed out of the fragments of a screen belonging to Gwrhyd Chapel.

Trevine;

We would gladly add a description of the Episcopal Manor at Trevine, although not within the limits of St. David's parish, if it had not been utterly destroyed, except one or two unimportant fragments, in the course of the last thirty years. It was built upon vaults, like the more important episcopal residences at St. David's and Lamphey. Another building, just beyond the limits of the parish, deserves our attention from its claim to be the birthplace of Bishop Adam Houghton, and will properly close our description of the domestic remains. Beside the present farm-house of Caerforiog, in the parish of Whitchurch, stand some inconsiderable remains of its predecessor, now used as an outhouse. It has no architectural features, beyond a doorway with an ogee head and moulded jambs, possibly of the fourteenth century, and one or two small windows, now blocked.

Caerforiog.

Wells: St. Mary's;

It will be necessary to notice the springs to which the idea of sanctity was attached, or which were in any way remarkable. The first of these is St. Mary's Well, which rises near the east end of the Cathedral, and of which the water runs through the crypt of the College Chapel: there can be no doubt that this was the spring which, in the days of Giraldus, was supposed to have risen to supply the use of the church, at the prayer of its patron saint, and to have been the scene of miracles even in that age.[x]

"Brerghys-well;"

On the hill above the remains of the Vicars' College and outside the Close,

[x] "Quo Pater audito, ad locum Cœmiterii, ubi frequentius Angelicis frui consueverat alloquiis, statim accessit. Cumque ibidem aliquamdiu devotis ad Dominum orationibus institisset; limpidissimæ fons aquæ eodem in loco prorupit. Qui sacramentalibus plenum usibus idoneus et officiis, usque in hodiernum ibidem emanat: Antiquis aliquando vinum temporibus, nostris autem aliquotiens lac stillare diebus, indubitata veritate compertus."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 634.

there is a well with an arched covering: apparently the same which formerly bore the name of "Brerghys-well," (Burghers' Well?) and from which water was conveyed by pipes into the Close.[y] It is now better known as Fynnon-y-Cwcwll, a term of which the etymology is disputed, but which is supposed to refer to the "hood" which covers it. The springs of Whitewell and the Pistyll have been alluded to in our notices of the chapels whose sites they mark, as has been that of St. Non, which is in all respects the most remarkable object of this class. It is covered by a small piece of barrel vaulting of the usual type, which, of whatever date originally, was repaired by Precentor Davies early in the last century.[z] This covering has an odd effect from the top of the vault being seen outside without any sort of roof over it. There is a recess on one side, apparently designed for offerings. The spring, which is said to ebb and flow with the sea, retained its reputation for sanctity after the religious changes of the sixteenth century,[a] and was believed to possess miraculous virtues till within the memory of man.

Whitewell; Y Pistyll; Nun's Well.

The principal one among the numerous crosses remaining, occupies a commanding position in the centre of the town, at the bottom of High Street and a little above the Tower Gate. It is elevated on six steps and a plain cubical base; and it consists of a monolithic shaft of oolite, octagonal, and tapering towards the top. The original head is lost, and was at one time supplied by a piece of tracery wrought in Caerfai stone, and brought from another place, surmounted by a ball of oolite, which had altogether an extremely grotesque effect. The cross has been recently restored.

Crosses: High Cross;

Another cross stood in the southern part of the cemetery, if we may credit the otherwise inaccurate view in Speed's *Theatre of Great Britaine*. Perhaps it may have occupied the place which we have elsewhere conjectured to have been the site of a Calvary.[b]

Churchyard;

[y] Lib. Comm. I. p. 23. The position of this well seems to have been forgotten in the seventeenth century, as the fly leaf of this volume, among other notes, contains the question,—"Brerghys Well—ubi?"

[z] Men. Sac. I. p. 2.

[a] "Some old simple people go still to visit the Saint at some particular Times especially upon St. Nun's Day (March 2) which they keep holy, and offer Pins, Pebbles, &c. at the Well."—*Brôwne Willis*, p. 53.

[b] See above, p. 216.

CHAP. VI.

SUBORDINATE BUILDINGS, ETC.

There are several rude incised crosses in the neighbourhood, and it is probable that many more have been destroyed.[c] One of these built up into the present wall of St. Non's Chapel, has been alluded to in our account of that chapel. It consists of a crosss inscribed in a plain circle, one foot two inches in diameter,

St. Non's Chapel;

and with its lower limb prolonged so as to give the entire figure a length of one foot ten inches.

Penarthyr;

A much more important monument of the same kind, and probably of very early date, stands in the entrance of a field on Penarthyr farm, to the north-west of St. David's, and at present serves as a gate post. It consists of a rough stone, of a flattish form, and narrowing towards the top. This is marked with an incised cross, inscribed in a large circle, consisting of concentric rings decorated with a wavy line. Above the cross there is an inscription, which has baffled the skill of antiquaries for many years. A letter from Mr. Westwood to the late Rev. John Jones, Vicar of Nevern, and Prebendary of St. David's, now preserved in the Chapter archives, gives that gentleman's reading of the inscription, founded on a series of rubbings transmitted to him by Mr. Jones. Mr. Westwood conjectures that the stone has been inverted, and upon that supposition reads it GURMARE. The word has certainly rather the air of a British name; but the form of the stone rènders it hard to believe that it has undergone the change which Mr. Westwood supposes.

In the same hedge, about forty yards nearer to St. David's, there is a stone of much smaller dimensions, upon which it is just possible to trace an incised circle with two diameters placed at right angles to each other, and two more cutting them diagonally, so as to form a cross and saltire. The principal radii are bisected by straight lines which meet the diagonals and form a square within the circle. The diameter of the circle is one foot two inches. There is or was recently a third cross of the same type in the immediate neighbourhood of these last mentioned. It is also built into a fence, but unfortunately with the incised side inwards, so that its exact position is now unknown. These three stones were removed within the memory of man from beside a well in an adjoining field, but it may be questioned whether that was their original position.

[c] Fenton, p. 112.

There can be little doubt that an incised stone, a description of which Browne Willis quotes from his authority of the sixteenth century, is to be referred to the same class:—"On the Burrows near the Sea, there is a Stone pitch'd in the Ground, which they call Arthur's Stone. Formerly, in the Memory of Man it lay flat, and with an Inscription upon it as it is said. I found no Letters, but a Figure upon the side, somewhat of this sort [the writer gives a sketch representing three concentric arcs, with two parallel straight lines meeting them on the concave side]. That Part of the Stone which is under Ground, has certainly the like, as I could discern when I removed some of the Earth; so that it seems to have been circular at first; but why plac'd there, it is not known. The Bishop has 12[d] a Year for ten Acres of Ground, which he holdeth by that Stone in that Place."[d] It is pretty evident that Arthur's stone was a cross inscribed in a circle, similar to those which have just been mentioned. We are unable, however, to find any trace of it; nor can we regard Mr. Manby's use of the present tense, as a sufficient guarantee for its existence down to the year 1801.[e] "Arthur's Stone;"

Seven miles from St. David's on the road to Fishguard, there is a stone bearing a plain incised cross inscribed in a circle. This is supposed to have acted as a sort of finger-post for travellers to St. David's; although it is quite unnecessary to make any such supposition. Another use, however, has been assigned to it by popular tradition, in accordance with which it has obtained the name of Mesur-y-Dorth (the Loaf-gauge). According to Archdeacon Payne, "Mesur-y-Dorth has derived its name from a tradition that in a time of peculiar scarcity, an order had been issued by the Bishop as Lord of the Manor for the fixing the Assize of Bread; when it was determined that the dimensions of the loaf should be equal to those of the circle described round the cross upon this stone."[f] The small hamlet of Groes-goch, about a mile to the west, derives its name from it, unless it marks the site of another similar object. Mesur-y-Dorth.

[d] Browne Willis, pp. 64, 65. [e] Manby, p. 73. [f] Coll. Men. I. p. xcix.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND SEE.

First Period, 6th to 12th Century.

So little is known of the early condition of St. David's, or of the district in which it is situated, that we might be well content to commence our history of the place with that of the See, if it were not necessary to do something towards discovering the antecedent causes which determined the position of the latter. The common tradition represents St. David as having succeeded Dubricius as Archbishop of Caerleon, and as having removed the archiepiscopate to Mynyw, or Menevia, to which he gave his own name. The too great "frequency of people at Caerlegion,"[a] and the proximity of the pagan English, are assigned as reasons for the change, as regards the abandonment of the former see: for the adoption of Menevia, its solitary and remote situation is alleged, as being a place fitted for heavenly contemplation, and far withdrawn from the tumults of the world. Certainly, if heavenly contemplation were the sole or principal duty incumbent on the chief pastors of the Church, the site of the new archiepiscopate was admirably chosen; for it is difficult to conceive a scene which more forcibly realizes the idea of religious seclusion, than the isolated situation of St. David's, its stern and sombre landscapes, the total absence of anything like softness, its pure atmosphere, and the presence of the "great and wide sea." Its geographical position is itself a parable: placed as nigh as possible to the setting sun, it seems to symbolize the triumphs of His kingdom, Whose "dominion shall be from the one sea to the other, and from the flood even to the world's end."

[a] Godwin.

But here our commendations of the site must cease. If we turn to its practical bearing, from that which is merely typical or poetical, it is evident that a less convenient place could scarcely have been selected for discharging the more important functions of metropolitan power. The subsequent history will show how detrimental have been the results of its position to the Cathedral establishment of St. David's; and it can hardly be doubted that serious inconveniences have arisen from the same source in the general administration of the Church in South Wales. Our present business, however, is to inquire whether St. David, from a misguided asceticism, fixed his seat in the least eligible spot of his diocese, or whether, under circumstances then existing, the position was more convenient and reasonable at that time than at present.

Causes which determined the site:

For this purpose it will be necessary in the first place to collect and analyze the remaining notices of the condition of Menevia and its neighbourhood before the establishment of the See, or anything now existing which can throw light on its previous state. At the time of the Roman occupation of Britain the south-western portion of Wales was tenanted by the Demetæ,[b] a tribe whose limits it is not altogether easy to fix, the less so as they probably shifted from time to time. It is pretty clear however that the whole of Pembrokeshire was comprised in their territory, as their name was in much later ages applied to a principality nearly co-extensive with that county.[c] For the same reason, from the general permanence of the local names,[d] and from the absence of records or traces of any great change of population in this part of Wales, we may probably conclude that the ancient Demetæ are represented at present by the Celtic inhabitants of Pembrokeshire and its neighbouring counties, and that they were consequently members of the Cymraic branch of the great Celtic family. In stating this conclusion, we do not mean to assert that the Cymraic Demetæ were the sole occupants of this district at the time which we are considering. On the contrary we have reason to believe that it was tenanted in part, even after the close of the Roman period, by a certain Gaelic population,[e] whether as has been argued elsewhere,[f] the relics of a former occupation of Britain, or, as suggested by an ingenious writer, "a refluent Gaelic wave

Primeval condition of the district;

[b] Ptolemy, Geog. II. 3. [c] Dyfed. [d] Vestiges of the Gael, pp. 5–12.
[e] Vestiges of the Gael, pp. 14–16; p. 74, *Note*. [f] *Ibid.* pp. 47–52.

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. . . . thrown back from Ireland upon the . . . . extremities of the Principality."[g] Certain it is that the country round St. David's was the scene of warlike operations, and probably formed the battle-field of races, in very early times. And it seems clear that its ancient condition was marked by a considerable amount of activity and comparative civilization. A careful study of its primeval antiquities necessarily leads to both these inferences.[h] Nor is there any antecedent difficulty to prevent our adopting them. For in estimating the distribution of civilization (if we may use the word) in primitive times, we must remember that it was under the influence of wholly different laws from those which guide its course at present. Before the erection of great cities, or the existence of anything like centralization, whether political or commercial, those places only can be considered as remote, which are separated by a distant interval, or by natural barriers, from the sea and the navigable rivers. If the situation of Pembrokeshire was less favourable than that of Kent, it was immeasurably superior to that of Warwickshire. And it may be added, that the very circumstance which now gives the country a deceptive appearance of sterility—the absence of timber—is just what would be most attractive to a primitive settler, perhaps ignorant of the use of metals.[i]

and under the Romans;

We have no contemporary written evidence to prove that the Romans penetrated to this extremity of the island; and it is certain that they have not left extensive traces of their dominion. The principal towns of the Demetæ were apparently converted into Roman stations,[j] but these were situated at a

Menapia;

considerable distance from Menevia. It is stated, however, in the work which bears the name of Richard of Cirencester, that the great Roman road which penetrated South Wales, the Via Julia, was carried on from Muridunum, (Caermarthen,) to a point on the western coast, from which there was a short passage of thirty miles to the shores of Ireland.[k] There is no part of St. George's Channel so narrow as thirty miles, but the narrowest part is immediately opposite to St. David's Head, which is distant about five-and-forty miles from the Irish coast. To this station the writer gives the name of

[g] Quarterly Review, No. clxxiv. September, 1850.
[h] See Chapter II.
[i] See above, p. 25.
[j] Loventium and Muridunum, Ptolemy, II. 3.
[k] Richard of Cirencester, It. VII.

Menapia, and the existence of such a place rests on his unsupported authority. The value of that authority has been keenly contested; but in spite of the serious difficulties attending the supposition that the work is genuine, it is undeniable that some of its statements have been verified by subsequent discoveries. What is most important for our purpose is the fact that Mr. Fenton, led by the Itinerary of Richard, traced the Via Julia in the direction of St. David's, and actually found a station in a site corresponding to that to which the writer gives the name of "Ad Vigesimum."[l] These discoveries make it pretty certain that there was a Roman station in the neighbourhood of St. David's;[m] certain vague traditions already alluded to would lead us to fix it near Whitesand Bay, and probably on the Burrows;[n] and we have already shown the possibility of its being buried beneath the sand.[o] Whether this station actually bore the name of Menapia is of course a further question. The resemblance of that name to Menevia, and the settlement of Menapii on the opposite coast,[p] would seem at first sight to render the statement probable; but they considerably weaken its value, regarded in the light of evidence, so far forth as they help to account for the invention, if invention it be. It is certainly very tempting to connect Menevia with the Menapii, and it is likely enough that the Roman station, whose existence we have shown to rest upon probable evidence, bore a name akin to the former. Whether it did so is not very important for our purpose.

It more concerns us to observe, that a considerable proportion of our bishoprics are fixed in Roman towns, whose importance survived the shock of the Teutonic immigration. It is therefore possible that Menevia derived its ecclesiastical from its political importance, supposing it to have been at any time a Roman town, especially if, as has been suggested, it was comparatively less remote in early times than at present. And we shall see presently that there are faint traditions of the existence of a religious establishment there, even before the time of St. David. But it must be observed that the Roman

[l] See above, p. 39.

[m] If the quadrangular camp at Parc-y-Castell (see above, pp. 30–32) is Roman, it proves at least that that people penetrated this district, and does not disprove the existence in former times of a more important station in the immediate neighbourhood. Indeed so small an entrenchment can hardly be taken for Menapia, or for the terminus of the Via Julia.

[n] See above, p. 38. [o] See above, p. 39. [p] Ptolemy, II. ii.

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station of Menapia, granting its existence under that or any other name, cannot have been a very important one, as it is not mentioned either by Ptolemy or Antoninus; and that St. David, had he acted upon the principle observed in England, and still more on the continent, would probably have fixed his seat at Caermarthen, which has been, from the days of Ptolemy to the present time, the most important place in Demetia, and which has since become for all practical purposes the bishop's see. It must also be noticed, and it is a fact in every way remarkable, that the rule which has been just laid down, does not apply to the Welsh bishoprics, none of which, except the extinct see of Caerleon, occupy, so far as we are aware, the sites of Roman towns. Upon the whole we conclude that there are not, on this ground at least, sufficient reasons *a priori* for doubting the motives ordinarily assigned for the translation of the archiepiscopate to Menevia. Of the positive evidence in their favour, and of other difficulties in accepting it, we shall be better able to judge, when we have considered the legendary history of St. David and his immediate successors.

Sources of the legendary account of St. David;

This history, as ordinarily presented to us, is chiefly derived from the Life of St. David by Giraldus Cambrensis,[q] and that again from a Life by Rhyddmarch, the last but one of the British line of bishops.[r] Giraldus indeed has made scarcely any material change in the narrative of Rhyddmarch,[s] his principal object being, as he tells us, to render it into the "scholarlike style"[t] on which he evidently piqued himself. The life by John of Tynemouth, published with trifling alterations by Capgrave,[u] is little more than an abridgement of Giraldus.[v] Other accounts have been published by Colgan[w] and Bolland,[x] which differ but slightly from those already cited and even less from each other. To these are to be added a biography in Welsh, recently published by the Welsh MSS. Society,[y] and brief sketches in the poems of Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (*circa* 1200)[z] and Ieuan Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd

[q] Ang. Sac. II. p. 628.
[r] "Lives of Cambro-British Saints," published by the Welsh MSS. Society, p. 117.
[s] Ang. Sac. II. Preface, p. xxv.
[t] "Scolastico declarare stilo."—*Ibid.* p. 628.
[u] Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. lxxxiij.
[v] Ang. Sac. II. Preface, p. xxv.
[w] Acta SS. Hiberniæ I. p. 425.
[x] Acta SS. Martii, I. p. 38.
[y] Cambro-British Saints, p. 102.
[z] Myv. Arch. I. p. 270.

(*circa* 1420)[a] which recount very much the same adventures as those with which we have met elsewhere. All these biographies resemble each other so closely in language[b] as well as in contents, as to prove to demonstration that they have a common origin; and if we are to regard any one of the existing Lives as the source of the rest, we can hardly hesitate to assign that precedency to the work of Bishop Rhyddmarch. This professes to be compiled from documents extant at St. David's in the author's time;[c] it is obviously the work of a person well acquainted with the localities; and the style is more antiquated and barbarous than that of any of the other lives which we have mentioned.[d] Rhyddmarch held the see from 1090 to 1098, and therefore presents us with the popular belief respecting St. David in the eleventh century.

Legend of St. David;

Among the sons of Cunedda, so said the Welsh genealogists, who came from North Britain to free Wales from the usurpation of the Gael, and from whose stock sprang the kings and princes of the country, was Ceredig, who conquered and gave the name to the province of Ceredigion, nearly coextensive with the present county of Cardigan.[e] His son (or grandson according to other accounts[f]) by Eleri, daughter of Brychan the sainted king of Brecknock,[g] was Sandde, named by the medieval historians Sanctus or

[a] Iolo MSS. p. 298.

[b] Of course this applies only to the Latin legends; but the "Buchedd Dewi Sant" bears strong marks of being abridged from the narrative of Rhyddmarch. That writer, who rejoices in quasi-Græcisms, calls Boia a "Satrap."—(*Cambro-Brit. SS.* pp. 124, 126.) The author of the Welsh Life, unable to translate the word, gives the wife of Boia the name of Satrapa.—*Ibid.* p. 107. Moreover it bears marks of a later age in omitting the story of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which probably seemed inconsistent with a complete recognition of Papal authority, a certain reverence for which may be observed in the account of Paulinus.—p. 104.

[c] *Ibid.* p. 143.

[d] As a specimen of the style of Rhyddmarch, we quote his assertion of the primacy of St. David among the Bishops and Saints of Wales: (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 140)—"Dederuntque universi episcopi manus et monarchiam, et bragminationem David agio, et consenserunt omnes licitum esse refugium ejus, ut daret illud omni stupro et homicide et peccatori, omnique maligno fugienti de loco ad locum pro omni sancto ac regibus et hominibus toti Britannice insule in omni regno, et in unaquaque regione in qua sit ager consecratus David agio. Et nulli reges, neque seniores, neque satrape, sed neque episcopi principesve ac sancti audeant præ David agio refugium dare; ipse vero refugium ducit ante unumquemque hominem, et nemo ante ipsum, qui ipse est caput et previus ac bragmaticus omnibus Brittonibus."

[e] *Ibid.* pp. 102, 265. [f] Iolo MSS. p. 82, 101. [g] *Ibid.* p. 120.

Xanthus. This Sandde was a great hunter, and in hunting one day on the banks of the Teifi, discovered three objects which he was bidden by a vision to preserve and regard as tokens of a son who should be born to him hereafter. Now it fell out at the same time that St. Patrick, who had been studying at Rome, returned to Britain, and travelled about in search of a convenient place to pass his days in meditation. He made choice of a remote valley near the western extremity of Dewisland, upon the shores of Whitesand Bay, where the site of a chapel dedicated to him is still pointed out.[h] Hereupon he was admonished by a heavenly vision to quit the place, which was destined for one who should be born thirty years afterwards. His field of labour was not here, but in a great island beyond the sea. At the word, the whole of Ireland was spread before his eyes. St. Patrick obeyed, and departed on his mission; but first, that he might not want a companion, raised to life one Criumther, who had been buried for twelve years, and took him with him.

Thirty years from this time Sandde was hunting in Dewisland, and met accidentally with a fair maiden, Non, the daughter of Gynyr of Caer Gawch,[i] and descended from another of the conquerors of the Gael. Struck by her appearance he accosted her, and the fruit of their intercourse was St. David, better known among his countrymen by the name of Dewi. Other signs preceded his birth. Gildas the great Doctor was preaching at Caer-

[h] See above, p. 228.

[i] Iolo MSS. pp. 101, 106. Non appears to have been under a vow of virginity, and is described by Rhyddmarch as "sancta monialis."—(*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 119.) In recent accounts she goes under another name. Bale describes St. David as "Xanti, Cereticæ prouinciæ comitis adulteri, ex Melaria uirgine Vestali, filius;" and, as might be expected, makes play with the legend:—"Hunc detestandæ libidinis ac prohibiti adulterii filium jactitant Joanni Sanctissimo Zachariæ filio in gratuitis Dei donis æqualem: suarum monialium incestui tantum tribuunt fædissimi cælibatarij nebulones."—*Scr. Britt.* p. 53. This form of the story is derived from Capgrave in the Life of St. Keyne, (fol. cciv.) who in enumerating the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, says,—"Sĕda Melari mater patris sĕti dauid meuenensis archiepi." The sequence of genitives being ambiguous, the source of Bale's blunder is obvious. It is needless to say that Melari is the same with Eleri. Non was afterwards regarded as a saint, and her feast was observed on the 3rd of March.—*Iolo MSS.* p. 152. *Itin. Will. de Worcestre*, p. 163. But at Launceston, where she seems to have been honoured particularly, it was kept on the 3rd of July.—*Ibid.* p. 135. Churches were dedicated to her in Cardiganshire and Caermarthenshire (*Rees' Welsh Saints*, p. 164); and her posthumous miracles are mentioned by Lewis Glyn Cothi, IV. 13.

morfa, the town which then stood on the shore of Whitesand Bay,[j] and became dumb in the presence of the unborn saint. A neighbouring chieftain, who foresaw his future greatness, endeavoured to destroy his mother, but his design was frustrated by a terrible thunderstorm. David was born during this storm, in a spot where a chapel dedicated to St. Non still stands,[k] and where marks of her agony were visible in the days of Rhyddmarch. He was baptized by Elvi Bishop of Munster,[l] at Porthclais, in a spring which was miraculously produced for the purpose; and a blind man who held him in the water suddenly recovered his sight. He was brought up at Old Menevia, perhaps the same as Caermorfa,[m] and in due time received Holy Orders. Afterwards he placed himself under the care of Paulinus, a pupil of St. Germanus, and one of the great teachers of the age, at Whitland, in Caermarthenshire,[n] and here he restored his aged instructor to sight. After twelve years of study he began to preach, and founded twelve monasteries in various parts of Britain. Among them were those of Glastonbury and Bath, Glascwm in Radnorshire, Repton, Leominster and Raglan, and Llangyfelach in Gower.

At length St. David returned to Menevia, or rather, it would seem, to Old Menevia, where he found his cousin, or (according to Giraldus) his uncle, Gweslan,[o] residing as Bishop. By Divine direction he settled himself in the

[j] The name of the place is not given by Rhyddmarch, but is added by Giraldus (*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 630); and its locality is fixed conjecturally by Leland, *Collectanea*, II. p. 104. See above p. 38.

[k] "In quo loco ecclesia sita est."—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 121. It can hardly be doubted that this is St. Nun's Chapel, on the shore of St. Bride's Bay.

[l] This is the form of the name which appears in the dedication of a church near Solva. Rhyddmarch's orthography departs rather widely from it: moreover he calls him "Meneviensium Episcopo,"—probably a mere inaccuracy.

[m] "Puer autem nutritus est in loco, qui Vetus Rubus dicitur, qui & Kambricè Henmeneu, Latinè vero Vetus Menevia vocatur. Sortitus est autem locus hic nomen ab Hybernico Muni, quod & Rubus sonat. Unde & Kilmuni Hybernicè adhuc hodie Ecclesia Menevensis appellatur."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 631. A church in Cardiganshire, appropriated to St. David's, bears the name of Henfynyw; but it is evident that the place spoken of in the text was supposed to be in the immediate neighbourhood of St. David's itself. A farm within a short distance of the town bears the name of Tremwni, or as it is generally spelt, perhaps erroneously, Tremynydd. The Irish etymology does not occur in Rhyddmarch's Life.

[n] "In insula quadam," says Rhyddmarch: Giraldus, "in Vectam Insulam." No doubt Colgan restores the true tradition, in calling the place Wihtland, *Act. SS. Hib.* I. p. 426.

[o] We have restored the name from the "Buchedd Dewi Sant," *Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 108.

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Vale of Roses,[p] then so called, and otherwise known as Hodnant,[q] at a short distance from his cousin's see. Here he was joined by several disciples. St. Teilo,[r] St. Aidan and St. Ishmael are mentioned as his earliest scholars, and the first of them had also been a pupil of Paulinus. Accordingly he began to erect a monastery in the Vale of Roses, but was hindered in the work and otherwise persecuted by Boia, a Gaelic chief, and a sorcerer,[s] who had built himself a strong fortress on the summit of the precipitous rock which still bears his name.[t] After a succession of punishments divinely inflicted on Boia, his wife, who had taken a principal part in the persecution, became mad; his castle was destroyed by fire from heaven, and he himself defeated and slain by a chieftain called Leschi, whose name is preserved in that of an inlet in the neighbourhood.[u]

The infant monastery being now freed from the fear of temporal enemies attracted a great abundance of recluses. Among them were many founders of churches in Ireland; besides Aidan, already mentioned, and subsequently Bishop of Ferns, we find the names of Brendan, Barroc and Modomnach. But the most illustrious person of those who were attracted by the fame of David, was Constantine prince of Devon and Cornwall, who had previously incurred the severe censures of Gildas,[v] and whose conversion to a religious life is recorded on independent authority.[w] The rule of life of these cœnobites is described at length by Rhyddmarch, and is summed up by Giraldus under the four heads of labour, reading, prayer,[x] and works of charity. Numerous

[p] "Vallis Rosina," derived as is generally supposed from a confusion between *Rhos* (a swamp) and *Rhosyn* (a rose).

[q] This name appears in Rhyddmarch (Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 124), and in the "Buchedd Dewi Sant" (*ibid.* p. 106), but not elsewhere. It is also applied to the site of Lantwit-Major, Glamorganshire, and translated "vallis prospera."—*Ibid.* p. 163.

[r] Called by Rhyddmarch, and in his Life (Ang. Sac. II. p. 662) Eliud. Considering the Welsh partiality (not yet lost) for Old Testament names, it is not impossible that this may be the original appellation; Teilo being a popular corruption analogous to Tooley (for St. Olave) Street, &c.

[s] "Propinquus satrapa magusque Baia, vocatus, Scottus."—*Rhyddmarch, Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 124. Giraldus says simply "Vir præpotens, cui nomen Boia."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 632. See "Vestiges of the Gael," p. 74, *Note.*

[t] See above, p. 33. [u] See above, p. 12. [v] Ep. Gildæ.

[w] Annales Cambriæ, Monumenta Historica Britannica, I. p. 831.

[x] The reverent behaviour of his disciples in their public devotions is described by a series of

miracles attested the sanctity of David and his companions. At his prayer a well of pure water sprang up at Menevia, and another at Brawdy a few miles distant.[y] When Aidan was bringing timber from the forest of Solva, the overladen wain, and the oxen which were drawing it, rolled down the precipitous side of the valley. Aidan raised his hand and arrested their downward progress by making the sign of the cross. Subsequently Aidan sent his master a message from Ireland to inform him that his food was poisoned. David proved the truth of the warning by an experiment, but ate the food notwithstanding, and felt no harm.[z] Many other marvels were related, with which we will not weary our readers at present.[a]

At length the time came that the holy David should be elevated to the degree of a Bishop; and that he might receive his consecration from the purest source, he was directed to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His pupil Teilo, and Paternus, an Armorican who had established a monastery in the north of Ceredigion, were appointed to accompany him. St. David was consecrated by the Patriarch, and at his request abode for some time at Jerusalem with his companions, preaching frequently, and strengthened and comforted the Eastern Christians, who were suffering severe persecution at the hands of the Jews.[b] At length the Patriarch dismissed them with appropriate gifts, which were long preserved in their several churches for the wonder and adoration of the faithful.

Soon after their return it was found necessary to give a fresh check to the

somewhat startling negatives:—"Quamdiu autem in ecclesia orarent, nullus oscitare, nullus sternutationem facere, nullus salivam foras jacere licenter audebat."—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 128.

[y] Ang. Sac. II. p. 634. [z] *Ibid.*

[a] One of them, added by Giraldus, (*ibid.* p. 635) is worth reciting. St. David was transcribing St. John's Gospel, and being summoned by the bell to prayers, left off in the middle of a page. On his return he found the page completed in golden letters, as it was believed, by an angelic hand. This MS., known in after ages as the "Evangelium Imperfectum," was kept concealed by the Saint from humility, and by his successors from reverence. It was preserved in the time of Giraldus in a splendid receptacle, which it was deemed profanity to open. This was much the same way that King James' book on the Oath of Allegiance was treated by the Venetian Senate, who "decreed that the royal gift should be accepted as a token of amity; should be committed to the keeping of the Chief Secretary; be preserved in a chest under lock and key; and be neither exhibited nor removed without express permission of the proper authority."—*Sketches of Venetian History*, II. p. 319.

[b] "Judæorum," says Rhyddmarch; Giraldus to make the story, as he thinks, possible, reads "Gentilium" (*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 637) which hardly mends the matter.

reviving heresy of Pelagius; and for this purpose a synod was convened on the banks of the Brefi, a tributary of the Teifi, at the place now bearing the name of Llanddewi-Brefi. There were present among many others Dyfrig or Dubricius,—the Archbishop of Caerleon, now anxious to resign his office,—Daniel Bishop of Bangor, and Paulinus. David was sent for and came reluctantly. His preaching was accompanied by signs. As he spoke, the ground rose beneath his feet, and elevated him above the heads of the surrounding crowd. A snow-white dove alighted on his shoulder. His wisdom and eloquence were irresistible; the heretics were convinced or silenced, and David was elected Archbishop of Wales by universal acclamation. A supplementary synod, commonly known as the "Synodus Victoriæ," was held at Caerleon, and its decrees were confirmed by Papal authority. It does not appear how long the Archbishop survived his elevation. His departure was foretold by angels and by himself. On the Calends of March he sang *Nunc Dimittis*, and fell asleep, full of years and merits.

Such is the history of St. David, as it was believed in the eleventh century: and as, stripped of its miraculous incidents, it finds a certain amount of acceptance still. Against this latter process we strongly protest. The legend we have recited is, as it stands, an excellent piece of history,—not doubtless, of the sixth century, but of the eleventh.[c] It is certainly melancholy enough that such a figment should at any time have formed part, and a large part, of the religious belief of thousands; but the fact that it has done so gives it an unquestionable value. It is not however on this account that we cite it here, but in order to see whether after a thorough sifting it will yield any residuum of historical truth. This will hardly be determined by merely "removing the

[c] "A new vein of sentiment had arisen in Europe, unsuitable indeed to the old mythes, yet leaving still in force the demand for mythical narrative generally. And this demand was satisfied, speaking generally, by two classes of narratives,—the legends of the Catholic Saints and the Romances of Chivalry, corresponding to two types of character, both perfectly accommodated to the feelings of the time,—the saintly ideal and the chivalrous ideal.

"Both these two classes of narrative correspond, in character as well as in general purpose, to the Grecian mythes,—being stories accepted as realities, from their full conformity with the predispositions and deep-seated faith of an uncritical audience, and prepared beforehand by their authors, not with any reference to the conditions of historical proof, but for the purpose of calling forth sympathy, emotion, or reverence."—*Grote's History of Greece*, vol. I. pp. 628, 9.

curtain;"[d] better omit the story altogether. "I am sensible," says Fuller, "that I have spent, to my shame, so much precious time in reading the Legend of his Life, that I will not double my guiltinesse in writing the same, and tempt the reader to offend in like nature."[e] This course is intelligible and consistent enough, but we are inclined to look upon it as somewhat too sweeping. That the reader, however, may judge of the real character of this legend, we will cite in the first place certain statements from other sources relating to St. David, and secondly the sequel to this history, as generally received.

Other Notices of St. David;

The work of Rhyddmarch attributes to St. David the foundation of Glastonbury Abbey. William of Malmesbury, in his history of that place, the antiquity and renown of which it was his chief object to magnify, tells us that St. David, being Primate of Wales, came with seven suffragan Bishops to consecrate the church, but was warned by a vision to desist, as it had been previously consecrated by Joseph of Arimathæa. Upon this he built and consecrated another church close at hand.[f]

William of Worcester informs us that St. David was born, and his mother buried, at Alternon, six miles from Launceston.[g]

In the Life of Rhyddmarch no mention is made of the residence of St. David as an anchorite in the vale of the Honddu, on the site of the present Llanthony.[h] Yet it is mentioned by Giraldus in his description of that place,[i] and it subsequently gained general credence, and the place is said to have borne in Welsh the name of Llanddewi Nant Honddu. But it is worthy of observation that it does not appear in the list of churches of which St. David was the patron, given in the poem of Gwynfardd Brycheiniog;[j] and if the connexion of the Saint with Llanthony had been commonly received in the neighbourhood of

[d] Grote's History of Greece, Vol. I. Preface, p. xii.

[e] Fuller's Church History, p. 40.

[f] Gale, Scriptores, XV. p. 299. See above, pp. 104, 243.

[g] "Sanctus [*sic*] Nonnita mater Sti David jacet apud eccl^m^ villæ Alternomiæ per 6 milliaria de Lanceston, ubi natus fuit S. David."—*Itin. Will. de Worcestre*, p. 129. See above, p. 242, *Note*.

[h] It may perhaps be necessary to state that St. David did not found the present Llanthony in the reign of Henry I., as we have found that assertion made in a topographical work.

[i] Giraldus, Itin. Camb. I. c. iii.

[j] Myv. Arch. I. p. 271.

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that place in the twelfth century, it is hardly possible that he should have omitted it. It is possible, however, that the legend may have arisen from a confusion with the Hodnant, according to Rhyddmarch, an ancient name of the valley of the Alan.

Once more, the work of Rhyddmarch sends St. David with Teilo and Paternus on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Life of St. Cenydd published by Capgrave speaks of them as fellow-travellers, but for a different purpose; the author describes them as journeying about together "to comfort the brethren."[k] A triad, which is probably of earlier date than either of these biographers, designates these three Saints as "the three Blessed Visitors," . . "because they went as guests into the houses of the noble, the yeoman, the native, and the stranger, without accepting either gift, or reward, or victuals, or drink; but what they did was the teaching of the faith in Christ to every one, without pay or thanks; besides, to the poor and needy they gave gifts of their gold and their silver, their raiment and their provisions."[l]

However, the story of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is repeated in the Lives of Teilo[m] and Paternus,[n] but with an important difference in each case. In the legend which has been recited St. David alone receives consecration; in those it is conferred upon all; and in that of St. Teilo, that Saint is made the most important personage of the three, and in fact the Primate of Wales.

Let us pass on to the subsequent history.

Successors of St. David;

Paternus returned to his Church of Llanbadarn, and on his death, or translation to his native city of Vannes, in Armorica,[o] was succeeded by Cynog.[p] Of the successions to the See of St. David's we have three discordant accounts. That which obtained belief in the Church of Llandaff, and which also represents St. David as a suffragan of that Church, asserts that upon his decease, his pupil St. Ishmael was consecrated by St. Teilo to succeed him.[q] The other traditions may be traced to the clergy of St. David's. According to one, extracted by Godwin, as he tells us, from the archives of that Church, the immediate successor of St. David was no other than Teilo himself, who was

[k] "Ad cõsolationẽ fr̃m iter agentes."—*Capgrave*, fol. ccvj.
[l] Myv. Arch. II. p. 61.
[m] Ang. Sac. II. p. 663.
[n] Cambro-British Saints, p. 192.
[o] *Ibid.* p. 194.
[p] Leland de Scriptoribus, p. 61.
[q] Liber Landavensis, p. 109.

in his turn succeeded by Ceneu.[r] The other, which we owe to Giraldus, interposes between the names of David and Teilo, that of Cynog,[s] the second bishop, as we have seen, of Llanbadarn.

Examination of the legend;

And now, perhaps, we are prepared to examine the value of these traditions. But in the first place we must ask, what is the earliest evidence which we have of the existence of St. David, beyond the name of his foundation, and the convergence of a wide-spread tradition. If the poem formerly ascribed to Golyddan, which makes mention of him, be genuine, we have evidence not only of his existence, but of his cultus, within a century from the time of his death.[t] But it has been assigned by a competent critic to a much later age.[u] We have, however, a record of St. David in a very valuable document, the *Annales Cambriæ* published in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*,[v] a copy of which, differing somewhat from the former, was partially printed by Wharton, and has been frequently cited by us, under the title of the *Annales Menevenses*.[w] These give us (we quote from the original copy) the following notices only, bearing immediately on our present subject:—

A.D. 601.—"Sinodus Urbis Legion. Gregorius obiit in Christo. David episcopus Moni judeorum."

606.—"Dispositio Cinauc episcopi."

645.—"Percussio Demeticæ regionis, quando cenobium David incensum est."[x]

It should also be mentioned that these Annals place the death of St. Patrick in 457, that of Gildas in 570, that of Dubricius in 612, and the conversion of Constantine, prince of Cornwall, in 589. Now there is reason to believe that the early part of this document dates from a period not later than the commencement of the ninth century.[y] Upon this supposition it is clear that a tradition of St. David as the founder of the see and monastery of Menevia was existing within two centuries of the date assigned to him. And we may take this as sufficient evidence of his historical existence and of the real origin of the establishment which bears his name. This is, perhaps, all that can be

[r] Godwin.
[s] Giraldus, Itin. Camb. II. c. i. Galfridus Monem. XI. 3.
[t] Myv. Arch. I. pp. 157–159.
[u] Stephens' Literature of the Kymry, p. 287.
[v] Mon. Hist. Brit. I. p. 830.
[w] Ang. Sac. II. p. 648.
[x] Mon. Hist. Brit. I. pp. 831, 2.
[y] "Schöll de Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ fontibus".—pp. 37, 38.

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affirmed with certainty. Two points, however, deserve notice. In the first place, it appears from internal evidence that the facts mentioned in these Annals down to the commencement of the seventh century are drawn chiefly from an Irish source.[z] Now in the inexplicable and evidently corrupted designation of "Moni judeorum" we think we recognize the Irish name of the place, "Muni," or "Kil-muni."[a] Secondly, the Annals represent St. David as contemporary with most of the celebrated persons into relation with whom the legendary history brings him. St. Patrick, indeed, is one exception, as his death is placed 144 years before that of St. David. But it is difficult to resist the impression that an endeavour to reconcile the story of St. Patrick's prophecy with the received chronology, produced the assertion that St. David died at the patriarchal age of 147.[b]

Let us return to Rhyddmarch. In examining his work we are struck at once by several features which it has in common with many of the specimens of British hagiography with which we are acquainted. The Saint is the son of a local prince or chieftain.[c] His origin is rather scandalous.[d] His birth is accompanied by signs and wonders.[e] He is placed under the immediate instruction of a noted saint,[f] and connected through him with Germanus and Lupus.[g] Several of the most celebrated centres of Christianity are the work of his hand. Several of the most celebrated propagators of the faith are his own scholars.[h] From his birth to his death he is associated with great names.[i]

[z] "Schöll de Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ fontibus."—pp. 37, 38.

[a] See above, p. 243, *Note.* [b] Ang. Sac. II. p. 629.

[c] Compare the Lives of Dubricius, (*ibid.* p. 654,) Beuno, (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 13,) Catwg, (*ibid.* p. 25,) Gwynlliw, (*ibid.* p. 145,) Cybi, (*ibid.* p. 183,) Oudoceus, (*Lib. Landav.* p. 123).

[d] Compare the Lives of Dubricius, (*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 654,) Cenydd, (*Capgrave*, fol. ccvj).

[e] Compare the Lives of Beuno, (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 13,) Catwg, (*ibid.* p. 25,) Samson, (*Lib. Landav.* p. 8).

[f] Compare the Lives of Beuno, (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 12,) Cybi, (*ibid.* p. 183,) Samson, (*Lib. Landav.* p. 8,) Teilo, (*ibid.* p. 93).

[g] Compare the Lives of Dubricius, (*Lib. Landav.* p. 66,) Teilo, (*ibid.* p. 93,) Illtyd, (*Rees' Welsh Saints*, p. 178).

[h] Compare the Lives of Dubricius, (*Lib. Landav.* p. 77,) Teilo, (*ibid.* p. 108,) Illtyd, (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 167).

[i] Compare the Lives of Beuno, (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 14,) Catwg, (*ibid.* p. 39,) Caranog, (*ibid.* p. 97,) Illtyd, (*ibid.* pp. 159, 167,) Cybi, (*ibid.* pp. 183, 4,) Paternus, (*ibid.* pp. 189, 192,) Dubricius, (*Lib. Landav.* p. 66,) Teilo, (*ibid.* pp. 93, 4,) Oudoceus, (*ibid.* p. 124,) Justinian, (*Capgrave*, fol. cci).

A worldly antagonist, a moral antithesis, a Pharaoh, is raised up for him to chastise and to destroy, and the Divine vengeance is made manifest.[j] He is made the centre and mainspring of the age, the great and holy man, round whom great and holy men are to be clustered. We pass by the extreme grotesqueness of the miracles, the incidents evidently borrowed from Holy Scripture, and the palpable absurdity of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that not only the miraculous embellishments, but a very large part of the substance in this legend, are fictions of a later age. Certain points however remain for our consideration, and these must be treated separately.

And first we must approach the question with which the chapter commenced: why did St. David go to Menevia? It has been already shown that we need not suppose it to have been a place of importance before his time. The inquirer therefore is forced back upon the ordinary answer, namely, that he chose it as a place of religious retirement. And whatever may be the difficulty in reconciling such a motive with that which ought to regulate a bishop in the choice of his seat, a solution is supplied to a certain extent by the account given in the legend, namely that St. David combined the functions of a bishop with those of an abbot, as it is all but certain that his successors did in the seventh and eighth centuries,[k] and as it is known from contemporary evidence that they did in the ninth.[l] Such a practice, however alien from that of the Church in general, was common enough in Britain. All the existing Welsh bishoprics, with the extinct one of Llanbadarn, are cases in point: not to mention others, we may add in North Britain the instances of Whitherne and Iona, as the latter, though not a bishop's see, had external and even metropolitan jurisdiction.[m] Nor was this system confined to the ancient British Church, as it prevailed in the English Cathedrals in a greater or less degree until the Reformation, and appears to have distinguished them from those of

St. David a bishop and abbot at once;

[j] Compare the Lives of Brynach, (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* p. 11,) Catwg. (*ibid.* p. 42,) Illtyd, (*ibid.* p. 172,) Paternus, (*ibid.* p. 191,) Cybi, (*ibid.* pp. 184, 186,) Germanus, (*Nennius*, §§ 32, 34).

[k] Mon. Hist. Brit. I. p. 832.

[l] "Hemeid . . . sæpe deprædabatur illud monasterium et parochiam Sancti Degui, aliquando expulsione illorum antistitum qui in eo essent, sicut et Novis Archiepiscopum," &c.—*Asser. Vit. Aelfr.*

[m] Bede, III. 4.

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continental Europe in general.[n] In fact the great type, and probably the original of Gallican and British monachism, was the system established by St. Martin, first at Ligugé and afterwards at Marmoutier, near Tours. St. Martin was also a bishop, and the abbot-bishops of Britain may be regarded as his followers, either in the way of direct spiritual descent, or by imitation. Regarded in this light, the selection of so retired a place as Menevia for the see of a bishop is by no means wonderful. Perhaps, however, it would be in vain to inquire why this particular spot was chosen. The common account represents the founder as connected with the locality; and one tradition adds that his maternal grandfather, Gynyr, endowed the new see with the Lordship of Dewisland.[o] This probably forestalls a fact of later date, of which, indeed, we have no certain record. But it is by no means improbable that St. David was a native of this district, although we receive his genealogy with extreme distrust.[p]

Synod of Brefi;

We are disposed to accept as historical the fact of the synod of Brefi, and, on the whole, St. David's connexion with it. It is not easy to account for this part of the legend without supposing a foundation of truth, and we only know of the synod as the scene of St. David's successful preaching. Moreover it derives a certain amount of credibility from the neighbourhood of the old Roman Town of Loventium. Of the occasion of convening it we cannot be at

[n] "The Annals of Waverley take notice, that in eight out of the seventeen English sees, the chapter consisted of monks: that this society of religious was very rarely to be met with in the cathedrals of foreign countries: but that the singularity of this usage prevailed in England, because the first planters of Christianity among the English, Augustine, Mellitus and Justus, were all monks."—*Collier, Eccl. Hist.* II. p. 340. [o] Iolo MSS. p. 82.

[p] On reading the numerous "Genealogies of the Saints" preserved in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* and the *Iolo MSS.*, it is impossible to avoid regarding them as an attempt on the part of chroniclers to systematize and bring into harmony a mass of pre-existing legends, the subjects of which are thus brought into mutual relation. Hence probably arose the Triad of "Holy Families," and in particular the extremely symmetrical progeny of Brychan Brycheiniog, many of the individuals composing which may have had, very possibly, a real though an independent existence. Compare Mr. Grote (vol. i. pp. 596–601) on the Greek and (pp. 623–625) Teutonic genealogies; and on the process of harmonizing conflicting legends (p. 145): "The legendary world of Greece," he says, "in the manner in which it is presented to us, appears invested with a degree of symmetry and coherence which did not originally belong to it." . . . . The "primitive elements, originally distinct and unconnected, are removed out of sight, and connected together by subsequent poets and logographers."

all certain. We do not hear anything of the revival of Pelagianism in Britain, except from the Life of St. David, and the assertion may only betray a want of inventive power in his biographers. It is possible that the synod of Caerleon, recorded as having taken place in the year of his death, may be identical with the synod of Victoria, the existence of which is commonly rejected by Protestant writers.

Translation of the Archiepiscopate;

This brings us to the alleged translation of the archiepiscopate from Caerleon to St. David's. There can be no reasonable doubt that there existed an episcopal see at Caerleon in early times. It is also pretty certain that it disappeared about the sixth century, and that the bishoprics of St. David's, Llandaff and Llanbadarn, were founded about the same time. Nor have we, with a single doubtful exception, any indication of sees existing previously in any part of South Wales, with the sole exception of Caerleon. We may therefore regard the change to a certain extent as a partition of the spiritual jurisdiction between the three chief principalities into which South Wales seems at this time to have been divided,[q] and partly as an imitation of the policy of St. Martin, by transferring it from the city to the wilderness. Or, if we please, we may regard St. David's and Llanbadarn as new sees, Llandaff being the legitimate representative of Caerleon. The question remains whether a metropolitan jurisdiction resided with any of these sees, and with which of them. It was claimed in after times by the bishops of Llandaff as well as by those of St. David's; but we do not hear of such a claim on the part of the former see before the time of Bishop Urban in the twelfth century, to whose age the greater part of the documents published under the name of the *Liber Landavensis* have been assigned by recent criticism.[r] On the other hand Novis in the ninth century bears the title of archbishop;[s] though the application of the same designation to Elfod[t] seems to show that it was used rather loosely. Our present business, however, is not to decide whether the bishops of Menevia exercised this authority in later times, but whether it was held by the founder of the see. The assertion that he was succeeded immediately, first by a bishop of Llanbadarn, and then by a bishop of Llandaff, appears at first sight

[q] Cambro-Brit. SS. pp. 196, 7; Vestiges of the Gael, pp. 60–62.
[r] Schöll, p. 41. [s] See above, p. 251,—*Note*. [t] Mon. Hist Brit. I. p. 834.

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to favour the affirmative side of the question. Professor Rees has laboured very ingeniously to show[u] that Teilo at least held the archiepiscopal power, retaining his own diocese,—in fact that the primacy was not attached to any particular see, but was transferred as occasion required, as is the present practice of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and is said to have been the primitive usage of that country. But it must be said on the other side, that the earlier names in the catalogues of the bishops of St. David's are open to the same suspicion as the list of the companions and scholars of St. David. It might seem that the same spirit which suggested the predictions of his birth by Patrick and Gildas, and surrounded him throughout his life with the most famous ecclesiastics of the age, would naturally represent him as having been succeeded after his death by persons no less celebrated. And it is also possible that the record of the death of Bishop Cynog in the *Annales Cambriæ*, soon after that of St. David,[v] may have suggested the notion that he succeeded him in the see of Menevia. Upon the whole we are disposed to think that there is not sufficient evidence for supposing that the occupants of that see had at this period a metropolitan jurisdiction.

Original extent of the Diocese;

The extent of the diocese of St. David's probably varied considerably at different times. On the north its original boundary is pretty clearly marked,[w] and may have continued unchanged until the accession of the diocese of Llanbadarn, an event which seems not to have taken place before the eighth century.[x] But to the east it is much less defined, and evidently varied considerably at different periods. Professor Rees, arguing partly from the dedications of churches, and partly upon the assumption that St. David retained the immediate jurisdiction of Caerleon (an assumption in favour of which he urges an extremely ingenious though inconclusive argument) assigns to the original diocese of St. David's not only the whole district at present comprehended within it, but so much of the present diocese of Llandaff as lies east of the Usk.[y] He considers that the whole diocese of St. David's was annexed to Llandaff during the episcopate of Teilo, and supposes that the numerous churches dedicated to that personage throughout the former diocese date from

[u] Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 244.
[v] See above, p. 249.
[w] Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 198.
[x] Myv. Arch. II. p. 472.
[y] Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 198.

that period. We are disposed however to think that that diocese coincided in the main with the principality which bore at different times the name of Dyfed or Reinwg, and increased *pari passu* with it, reaching its maximum extent after the establishment of the family of Rhodri on the throne of Dinefawr in the ninth century.[z] Accordingly, we regard the claim of Rhydderch ab Iestin at the commencement of the eleventh as a mere piece of retaliation for encroachments on the other side, and that of Urban in the twelfth as justified by the history of the previous period.

Constitution of the Ecclesiastical body at Mynyw:

Something must be said about the constitution of the Church founded at Menevia. It has been said already that it was conventual in its character, and that such a union of the episcopal and abbatial functions was in accordance with the practice of the British Church. But it does not appear that the monks, if we may call them so, were bound by any perpetual vows: on the contrary, it would seem from the legends of the British Saints, which, whatever may be their value as matters of fact, are probably true representatives of manners, that their inmates quitted them without scruple. They do not even seem to have borne the title of monks, the clergy of St. David's Cathedral, under the British Bishops, being known by the general title of Ecclesiastics.[a] They are reported by tradition to have numbered five hundred,[b] and it must be supposed that they were subject to an organized government of some kind. Mention is made of a Provost,[c] and a Steward,[d] among the officers of the monastery; and as in the Legend of St. Paternus, he is said to have placed his convent under the government of a Provost, a Steward and a Dean,[e] it is possible that this may have been the normal constitution of a British monastery. Undoubtedly the rule of life was, in idea at least, extremely ascetic, and there are not wanting indications that in later days the praisers of past times looked back with regret and admiration to the more inflexible strictness of their predecessors. Hence the story that Morgeneu, the thirty-third from St. David, presumed to taste flesh, which no bishop before him had ever touched. Accordingly he was slain by pirates, and after his death appeared to a certain

[z] Vestiges of the Gael, p. 61.
[a] Glaswir, *i. e.* Eglwyswyr.—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 534.
[b] Iolo MSS. p. 151.
[c] "Præpositus."
[d] "Œconomus."
[e] Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 190.

Irish bishop. "I ate meat," said the spectre, "and they made meat of me."[f] Now although Bishop Morgeneu was the first of the line who ate flesh, we are nowhere told that he was the last; and we should undoubtedly have heard enough of it, if his successors had invariably respected the warning. It may be added that Bishop Sulien, in the eleventh century, was married, and the father of a flourishing family, one of his sons being no other than the biographer of St. David, Bishop Rhyddmarch.

Chronology;

With regard to the era of St. David's life and death, it is unnecessary to say that we have no facts to enable us to determine it with any degree of accuracy. Nor indeed have we sufficient grounds for choosing between the widely different dates which have been assigned for his death. These are 542, as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth,[g] 544 according to Usher,[h] 546 according to William of Malmesbury,[i] 601, which appears in the *Annales Cambriæ*,[j] our most ancient informant concerning St. David's existence, and 642, which is adopted by Godwin and others. No light can be thrown upon the question from the history of the personages who are represented as his contemporaries, as their date is in most instances equally unknown, their connexion with him wholly unascertained, and the very existence of some among them open to question. In directing our attention to this point, we must not drop out of sight the patriarchal age of 147 years ascribed to St. David by Rhyddmarch.[k]

The *Annales Cambriæ* give the year 457 as that of St. Patrick's death, and the secondary form of the same authority inserts the birth of St. David in 458. This interpolation was probably made after the story of St. Patrick's prediction had become current. This gives 143 years as the length of St. David's life, assuming 601 as the date of his death. It is therefore not unlikely that these two years, 457 and 601, were assumed as ascertained points, and the length of his life calculated from them. The precise space, however, of 147 years, appears to be the fruit of the usual love of round numbers. It is divisible into three equal periods, each a mystical number, the square of seven. Perhaps an early form of the legend, in imitation of the history of Moses, assigned three

[f] "Quia carnes comedi, caro factus sum."—*Giraldus, Itin. Camb.* II. c. 1.
[g] Galfrid. Monem. XI. 3. Iolo MSS. p. 153. [h] Index Chronologicus, p. 530.
[i] Will. Malm. de Antiq. Glast. Eccl. Gale, XV. Scr. p. 299.
[j] Mon. Hist. Brit. I. p. 831. [k] Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 140.

such periods to the life of St. David, forty-nine years for his youth and education under Paulinus, forty-nine for his cœnobitic life at Menevia, and forty-nine for his episcopate after the resignation of Dubricius. The earlier date assigned by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, may have arisen from a wish to bring the era of St. David closer to that of Dubricius, or that of Dubricius closer to that of St. Germanus, the latter being regarded, probably with truth,[l] as a source of renewed life to the British Church. And the latest date, 642, may have grown out of a merely clerical error.

It is impossible, in attempting to unravel the history of an age of which we know so little, to come to any satisfactory conclusion on this point; but if we are to give any preference to one of our informants on the score of higher authority, we should certainly adopt the more recent date of the *Annales;* remembering also that the general tendency of tradition is to exalt rather than to reduce the antiquity of the events which it records.

Conclusion.

To sum up what has been stated here respecting St. David, we may conclude that he established a see and monastery at Menevia early in the seventh century, the site being chosen for the sake of retirement; that his diocese was regarded as co-extensive with the territory of the Demetæ; but that he had no archiepiscopal jurisdiction: that a synod of the British Church was held at Llanddewi-Brefi, near the site of the ancient Loventium, in which it is probable that St. David played a conspicuous part; but that of the objects of this convention nothing certain is known: that no further particulars of the life of St. David are ascertained; and that of his immediate successors nothing whatever is recorded.

From seventh to the ninth century: Bishop Sadwrnfen;

From the era of St. David to the middle of the ninth century, a period of two hundred and fifty years, is an almost total blank. We are presented indeed with a list of bishops, but we have nothing beyond their names, neither is their existence proved by any contemporary authority. The first mentioned by the *Annales Cambriæ* is Sadwrnfen, whose death is placed in the year 831,[m] and the next is Novis, the uncle of the celebrated Asser, whose episcopate

[l] Schöll, p. 20.

[m] "Satur biu hail Miniu moritur."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 835.

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commenced in 840.[n] Two incidents are mentioned by the same authority which bear directly on our history, and one more which is indirectly though essentially connected with it. In the year 645, and again in 810, St. David's was burnt, and, in one instance at least, by an invading army;[o] a fact which proves that if security was one of the chief attractions of the place, the founder had made a sad miscalculation. Similar catastrophes will be recorded in a later part of this history. In the year preceding the latter of these conflagrations, namely in 809, is placed the death of Elfod, who is styled Archbishop of Gwynedd, that is, probably, of Bangor.[p] Whether he was an archbishop in any practical sense, it does not altogether fall within our scope to inquire. We have already hinted our suspicion that the title was given rather indiscriminately to early British prelates by chroniclers of a later age. It is also remarkable that a bishop of that name appears in the St. David's catalogue just about this time, while the name in a somewhat altered form is ascribed to a much earlier one, the sixth, namely, from St. David. We are constrained to refer our readers to what has been already said respecting the insertion of Cynog and Teilo, and to observe that the compilers of lists and genealogies are frequently tempted to swell the numbers of them with names purloined from extraneous sources. Elfod, however, is remarkable as having been the instrument of reconciliation between the Roman and British Churches on the Paschal question, and probably with regard to the other points then in dispute.[q] The Welsh Church had been the last in the West to hold out against the Roman system, the Picts having conformed in 710,[r] and the Scots in 716;[s] and the Cornish Britons having been brought over by Aldhelm about 705.[t] It would seem from an Epistle of the writer just mentioned that the Demetian clergy took a prominent part in the dispute;[u] and it is clear that there was at this time a considerable amount of intercourse between them and their Cornish brethren. We are therefore in all probability to ascribe to this age the adoption

Elfod;

Paschal controversy.

[n] "Nobis episcopus in Miniu regnavit."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 835.

[o] "Percussio Demeticæ regionis, quando cenobium David incensum est."—*Ibid.* p. 832. "Combustio Miniu."—p. 834.

[p] "Elbodg archiepiscopus Guenedote regione migravit ad Dominum."—*Ibid.*

[q] "Pasca commutatur apud Brittones emendante Elbodugo homine Dei."—*Ibid.*

[r] Bede, Hist. Eccl. V. c. xxi. [s] *Ibid.* c. xxii. [t] *Ibid.* c. xviii.

[u] Ep. ad Geruntium: Aldhelm. Ed. Giles, p. 86.

of legends respecting St. David and his mother in Cornwall.[v] The change effected by Elfod probably brought the Welsh into exact conformity to the English Church, but it is a further question whether such an act of conformity implied any kind of submission to the see of Canterbury.[w] It seems clear however that the title of Archbishop applied subsequently to Elfod, and by even better authority to Novis, although it does not prove that those individuals exercised, shows sufficiently that they were independent of, metropolitan jurisdiction.

From the ninth to the twelfth century: Bishop Novis;

A new era opens with the episcopate of Novis, and in order to contemplate it fairly, we must take a brief review of the political state of South Wales about this date. It has been said already that there are symptoms of a tripartite division of that region in the sixth and seventh centuries.[x] A similar division reappears in the ninth, but so far as we can judge, with considerably altered boundaries. The principality which we suppose to have been co-extensive with the diocese of Paternus, and accordingly to have been restricted to the northern half of Cardiganshire, with perhaps a portion of Radnorshire, seems to have extended its frontiers subsequently, so as to take the whole of Cardiganshire and Caermarthenshire, with the districts of Gower and Cemaes.[y] In the eighth century we find it under the dominion of Sitsyllt, from whom it received the appellation of Seissyllwg. His son and successor Arthen died in 807,[z] whose grandson Meyrig had a son and a daughter. The son Gwgan was drowned

Political condition of South Wales;

[v] See above, p. 247.

[w] It is amusing to contrast the different points of view from which this cardinal event has been contemplated by a Jesuit and a Puritan.

"Tanta etiam cum beato Augustino Apostolo nostro ei [*sc.* Elbodio] intercessit necessitudo, vt eius frequentibus colloquijs, & solidis rationibus atque argumentis inductus Scotorum & Britonum erroribus penitùs renunciauerit, & eruditè contra eos scripserit. Vndè tandem ab ipso Augustino dicitur creatus Venedotarum Archiepiscopus."—*Pitseus, De Scr. Britt.* p. 105.

"Claruit anno post Christi in carnem aduentum 610, Babylonicæ (ut apparet) meretricis calice per Augustinum potatus."—*Bale, De Scr.* p. 67.

It will be seen that both of these writers have transferred the history of the real Elfod of the eighth century to the probably fictitious Elwaed of the seventh. The intimacy between Elfod and Augustine is about as mythical an incident as can be conceived.

[x] See above, p. 253.

[y] For the traces of this change, see *Vestiges of the Gael*, § viii. pp. 60–62, 66, 69–71, and the authorities there cited.

[z] "Arthgen rex Cereticiaun moritur."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 834.

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in 871;[a] the daughter Angharad married Rhodri Mawr, King of Gwynedd,[b] who was killed in 877, and who seems, through his wife, to have possessed or claimed the sovereignty of Ceredigion or Seissyllwg. In the mean time the ancient kingdom of the Demetæ had shrunk to the narrow limits of the present archdeaconry of St. David's, and had derived from Rein, one of its princes, whose death is placed in 808,[c] the secondary designation of Reinwg. Towards

Hyfeidd;

the latter part of that century it was in the hands of Hyfeidd the son of Bledri, who is recorded by a contemporary writer, himself a sufferer, to have exercised a tyrannical authority over his dominions, repeatedly plundering the Church of St. David's, and expelling its clergy.[d] Among those who were thus driven out were our informant, Asser, and his uncle Novis,[e] the Bishop. Hyfeidd, in common with the other petty princes of South Wales, was oppressed in his turn, by the sons of Rhodri, who after the death of their uncle in 871 began apparently to put forward extensive claims to power in South Wales. Accor-

Alfred,

dingly he threw himself on the protection of King Alfred, who appears by this means to have acquired a sort of recognition of his supremacy in South Wales.

and Asser;

It was probably at this time that the fame of Asser's erudition reached the ears of Alfred, who delighted to gather round him the learned men of Western Europe. Two priests, John and Grimbald, the one an Old-Saxon, and the other a Frank, were already among the inmates of his court, and he was desirous of associating with them the scholar whose name had reached him "from the uttermost parts of Wales."[f] Asser, although unwilling to desert the church in which he had been ordained, and over which his relative had presided, consented at length to pass one half of each year at the court of Alfred, chiefly at the instance of the St. David's clergy, who hoped by this

[a] "Guoccaun mersus est rex Cereticiaun."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 835.

[b] Myv. Arch. II. p. 62.

[c] "Regin rex Demetorum et Catell Powis moriuntur."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 834.

[d] Asser, De rebb. gestt. Alfredi. See the defence of this document in its uninterpolated form, in Dr. Lingard's *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II. p. 420. See also *Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. *Preface*, pp. 77–81.

[e] The name of Novis also occurs in the Catalogue of the Bishops of Llandaff, and was probably borrowed from St. David's by the compilers, who betray a considerable poverty of invention, as they find only twenty-one bishops from Teilo to Herewald inclusive, the like period having produced not less than forty-six bishops of St. David's.

[f] "His temporibus ego quoque a rege advocatus de occiduis et ultimis Britanniæ finibus ad Saxoniam adveni."—*Asser.*

means to procure a powerful protector against the incursions of Hyfeidd. Asser became one of the instructors of Alfred,[g] was presented by him to two monasteries, and ultimately to the bishopric of Sherborne. He survived his patron, whose life he wrote, and died in the year 906.[h]

That Alfred should have selected one of his instructors from among the clergy of St. David's is a pretty satisfactory proof that the sacred fire of learning was not altogether extinguished in this remote corner of the world even in a period so barbarous and turbulent. But the simple statement of Asser, which has just been recited, was swelled into prodigious dimensions by subsequent chroniclers. We are informed by the interpolator of Asser's biography, that Alfred established the learned men whose names we have just mentioned in the University of Oxford, the previous existence of which is implied in the passage in question; and we learn from the *Annales Wintonenses* that Asser the monk was appointed Reader of Grammar and Rhetoric, and John, another monk of St. David's, Reader of Logic, Music and Arithmetic in that institution.[i] There can be little doubt that the second monk of St. David's has grown out of some confusion between John the Old-Saxon and Asser himself; while the whole account savours far too much of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* for the age to which it is assigned.

Bishop Llunwerth;

But one of the most critical events in the early history of St. David's took place about this time, and it is difficult to avoid connecting it with the circumstances which have just been detailed. In the year 873 Bishop Novis died,[j] and was succeeded in the following year by Llunwerth,[k] who received his

[g] "Swa swa ic hi geleornede æt Plegmunde minum Arcebiscope; and æt Assere minum biscope; and æt Grimbolde minum mæsse preoste; and æt Johanne minum mæsse preost."—*Ælfredi Præf. ad Pastorale Gregorii, apud* Spelman, Vit. Ælfr. p. 197.

[h] "Asser defunctus est."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 836.

[i] Cited by Spelman, *Ælfred. Magn. Vita* (ed. Coll. Magn. Aul. Univ. Alumn.) p. 148.

[j] "Novis et Mouric moriuntur."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 835. The compiler of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, founded on these Annals, has made a curious blunder here: "Ac y bu uarw Meuruc escob bonhedic."—*Ibid.* p. 845.

[k] "Llunwerth episcopus consecratur."—*Ibid.* p. 835. We have preserved the orthography of the Annals, as it is not easy to see what the real name was. It appears variously as Lumbert, Lunberth, and Himberth; also in the Catalogues as Lunverd and Hubert, and apparently as Lendivord, although the name last mentioned is, like that of Elfod, thrust out of its place, and occurs as that of the ninth bishop. Perhaps the name was Llywarch.

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consecration from the hands of Æthelred Archbishop of Canterbury.[l] This act, which as we shall see was repeated on at least two subsequent occasions, appears to mark a complete though perhaps a temporary subjection, on the part of the Church of St. David's, and it would seem to be connected with the submission of the South Welsh princes to the West Saxon monarch, and the desire of the Menevian clergy to enlist him on their side. We know that their sufferings had commenced before the death of Novis, and it was natural that in electing his successor they should be willing to purchase security by the sacrifice even of their most cherished privileges. It is important to observe that the death of Novis and the consecration of his successor nearly coincide in date with the accession of Rhodri to the principality of Ceredigion, and therefore in all probability with the submission of Hyfeidd to Alfred. On the other hand the residence of Asser at the court of Alfred is supposed to have commenced in 884,[m] and it would seem, from the words of that writer, that the political circumstances to which we have just referred, were more nearly contemporaneous with that event. We must be content, on the whole, to leave the chronological difficulty unsolved, having indicated the probability that this train of events was not unconnected with the consecration of Llunwerth by Archbishop Æthelred.

consecrated by Archbishop Æthelred;

It has been said that Llunwerth appears in the *Annales Cambriæ* as the successor of Novis. But Giraldus finds room for seven, and Godwin's Catalogue for eight prelates between them. Of these two only are in any way remarkable, namely Asser, who appears as the second or third, and Sampson the fourth or fifth, from Novis. The former was clearly supposed by the compilers of the Catalogues to be identical with the Bishop of Sherborne. But there is no evidence that he ever quitted that see, although the *Welsh Chronicle* decorates him with the magnificent title of "Archbishop of the Isle of Britain."[n] To escape from the difficulty, Bale and others have recourse to the usual

Asser;

[l] Rad. de Diceto, *apud* Twysden, p. 451.

[m] Spelman, Vita Alfredi, p. 203.

[n] Mon. Hist. Brit. I. p. 847. Asser appears as witness to five charters of Edward the Elder, dating from 901 to 904, that is to say, until within two years of his death. *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, II. pp. 139, 140, 144, 146, 148. This leaves little room for his supposed translation to St. David's, as the attestations are less likely to have been made after that event.

expedient of creating a second Asser, whom they quite gratuitously suppose to have been a near relative of Alfred's biographer.[o]

Bishop Sampson;

Story of the Pall;

Sampson is even more notorious from his connexion with the celebrated story of the Pall. We will give the legend in the words of Giraldus. "In the days of St. Sampson the Pall was transferred on this wise. While he was archbishop a certain plague overran Wales, and destroyed the people in great numbers. It was called the Yellow Plague, and is termed by physicians *Icterica Passio*. The prelate, though a holy man and not fearing death, at the request of his friends took ship and came safe with his people to Brittany. And as the see of Dol happened to be vacant at the time, he was at once made bishop there. Hence it came to pass that on account of the Pall which Sampson had brought with him from St. David's, his successors obtained palls even to our own days, when the Archbishop of Tours prevailed against them so that their borrowed dignity disappeared. But our bishops from negligence or poverty, or rather because of the coming of the English into the island, and the hostile Saxons interposing, on that account lacked henceforward their original dignity. Still until the complete subjection of Wales by Henry I. the Welsh prelates were always consecrated by the bishops of St. David's, and they in like manner by their suffragans without fealty or submission to any other Church."[p] We have shown that the bishops of St. David's were not invariably consecrated by their suffragans, and there is evidence, so far as concerns the Church of Llandaff, that the suffragans were also occasionally consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury.[q] It is most probable that the Welsh sees maintained a precarious independence of the chair of St. Austin, which they yielded whenever they were compelled or found it convenient to do so. But the complete independence of the Welsh Church of which Giraldus boasts, and upon which he founds his claim, is without historical foundation; and there can be no doubt that the story of the Pall was invented to account for the disappearance

[o] Bale, Cent. II. p. 125. Compare Godwin, Lhuyd, &c.

[p] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 533, 534. Compare Giraldus, Itin. II. c. i.

[q] Rad. de Diceto. Twysden pp. 451, 461, 467. This author tells us that Bledri and Joseph, Bishops of Llandaff, were consecrated by Archbishops Æthelred and Athelnoth respectively. The *Liber Landavensis*, which in this matter may be trustworthy, confirms this statement, and adds the names of Gwgan consecrated by Dunstan in 982, and Herwald confirmed by Cynsis, perhaps Kinsi of York, in 1059.—*Liber Landavensis*, pp. 235, 241, 254.

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of the metropolitan title. And the fiction may be traced to its sources without difficulty. The Yellow Plague makes a considerable figure in the chronicles and legendary history of both Wales and Ireland,[r] but it is referred to an earlier period. There appears to be evidence that a Bishop Sampson emigrated from Britain about the sixth century and settled at Dol. He is said to have been Archbishop of York.[s] Giraldus meets the difficulty as usual, by asserting the existence of two Sampsons.[t] Moreover a temporary sojourn at Dol, then under the rule of Sampson of York, is attributed to Teilo, who is said to have been driven away from Llandaff by the Yellow Plague.[u] With regard to the Pall, it is hardly credible that the question of metropolitan authority can ever have been conceived to be settled by the presence or absence of its symbol. And there is no evidence to show that that symbol was in use at the period in question in the British Church. And indeed, under any circumstances, the transference of the Pall would not be a sufficient account of the loss of the archiepiscopal dignity. "I cannot see" says Archdeacon Yardley very wisely, "how this should lessen the Dignity of his Successor since it is well known that every Archbishop upon his Consecration had a new Pall sent him; & y^e^ Old Pall did not go from Bp to Bp in succession."[v]

We are therefore inclined to consign Asser, Sampson and their five (or six) compeers to the Paradise of Fools out of which they were conjured to fill up the space between Novis and Llunwerth. The death of the last named prelate is placed by the *Annales Cambriæ* in 944,[w] which allows his episcopate the enormous period of seventy years, and as Eneuris, the next Bishop of St. David's mentioned in that document, died in 946,[x] it is probable that the death of Llunwerth is placed too late, and possible that other bishops may have intervened between him and Eneuris. During the episcopate of Llunwerth the great convocation of the notables of Wales was held by Hywel Dda at

Bishop Eneuris;

Laws of Hywel Dda;

[r] Ann. Tigernach; O'Conor Rerum Hibb. Scriptt. II. p. 94. Hanes Taliesin; Lady C. Guest's Mabinogion. III. p. 877.

[s] Rog. Wend. Fl. Hist. I. 45, 82. See the legend of St. Sampson, *Liber Landavensis*, p. 8.

[t] Ang. Sac. II. p. 540. [u] Liber Landavensis, p. 103. [v] Men. Sac. I. p. 25.

[w] "Lumberth episcopus in Miniu obiit."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. p. 837. He is said to have been put to death by the English.

[x] Mon. Hist. Brit. I. p. 837.

Whitland Abbey, in which the laws which bear his name were framed, or at least codified. This interesting record contains one or two points bearing on our history. It speaks of the Menevian prelate as an archbishop,[y] and of Menevia itself as the primatial see of Wales.[z] But this was at a time when the prince of Dinefawr had attained to greater power than the reguli of South Wales before his time, or his successors at any subsequent date, possessed. We also learn from the laws of Hywel some particulars with regard to the internal constitution of the diocese of St. David's, although it is not easy to see the precise import of the information thus conveyed to us. They tell us of the seven Episcopal Houses in Dyfed, viz., St. David's, St. Ishmael, Llandegfan, St. Issel's, Llandeilo, Llandeulydog, Llangeneu, and of the privileges attaching to them respectively, and the qualifications of their several abbots.[a] It is evident from this that the Episcopal Houses, whatever may have been their exact nature, were conventual establishments of some kind or other, standing in a direct relation of subordination to the bishops. As Mynyw itself is reckoned among them, we may suppose that the inferior foundations had a precisely similar organization, and bore to it the same relation, that the Colleges of Abergwili and Llanddewi Brefi did to the mediæval Cathedral of St. David's.

Seven Episcopal Houses of Dyfed;

This appears to us a more probable interpretation of the passage in question, than the supposition that there existed so large a number of Chorepiscopi in so small a region, a meaning which perhaps the words would bear equally well. It is certain however that various minor sees existed in South Wales, which disappeared at a very early period. That of Llanbadarn has been already alluded to, and it appears to have been absorbed into St. David's but little before the period we are considering. This change is said to have occurred in

Sees of Llanbadarn,

[y] Hoeli Boni Leges Wallicæ; Præf.

[z] *Ibid.* II. c. ix.

[a] "Saith Esgopty y sydd yn Nyfed. Un yw, Mynyw yn Eisteddfa arbennig yng Nghymry
Ail yw Eglwys Ismael
Trydydd yw Llandegfan
Pedwerydd Llan Ussylld
Pummed Llandeilo
Chweched Llandeulydog
Seithfed Llangeneu
Abadeu Teilo a Theulydwg ac Ismael a Degfan, a ddyliant fod yn Llythyriawl urddolion.
Mynyw a ddyly fod yn rhydd o bob ddylyed.
Llangeneu a Llanussylld rhydd ynt o Ebediweu can nid oes dir Eglwys iddynt."—*Ibid.*

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consequence of the murder of Idnerth, the last Bishop of Llanbadarn, by the inhabitants of that place. We have no data for determining the exact age of this event, but the distinct existence of the diocese of Llanbadarn appears to be recognized as late as the eighth century.[b]

Margam, and Llanafan;

To the see of Llanbadarn, we have to add those of Margam in Glamorganshire, and Llanafan-fawr in Brecknockshire, the latter of which had only a very brief existence. The former is conjecturally reckoned by Usher among the seven bishoprics suffragan to that of St. David's,[c] and that of Ferns in Ireland is also included among the number. That there were seven such sees, is at least an early tradition;[d] but it is a very suspicious one; for not to dwell upon the fact that it is a likely number for an inventor to seize upon, a probable origin for it may be found in the seven British bishops who held conference with the Apostle of the English at Augustine's Oak.[e] We have already intimated our doubts whether the Menevian prelates possessed at any time a fully defined metropolitan jurisdiction.

Llunwerth, as has been stated, was succeeded by Eneuris, who died in 946:[f]

Bishop Rhydderch;

a Bishop Rhydderch, whose death is recorded in the *Annales*, is said to have presided over this see, and to have died about 961.[g] His name however appears in the catalogues as one of the prelates intervening between Novis and Llunwerth.

Bishop Morgeneu;

From his death to that of Morgeneu, the next bishop mentioned in the *Annales*, and according to Giraldus his immediate successor, St. David's was harassed by a continual series of assaults on the part of the Northmen, in one of which Bishop Morgeneu was slain,[h] a catastrophe which was attributed, as we have seen, to his violation of the ascetic maxims of his predecessors.[i] The

[b] Myv. Arch. II. p. 472. [c] Usher, Ant. Eccl. Brit. pp. 47, 48.

[d] The monks of Glastonbury had a legend that a church in that place was consecrated by St. David, assisted by seven suffragan bishops.—*Will. Malm. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccl.*, apud *Gale, Script.* XV. p. 299.

[e] Bede, I. 2. [f] See above, p. 264. [g] H. Lhuyd, p. 61.

[h] 946.—"Eneuris ep̃s Miniu obiit.

....—"Riderch ep̃s obiit.

982.—"Gothrit et Haraldus vastaverunt Dewet et Meneviam.

988.—"Gentiles vastaverunt Meneviam, &c.

993.—"Tertio Menevia vastata est.

999.—"Menevia vastata est a Gentilibus, et Morgeneu ep̃s ab eis occisus est."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. pp. 837–839.

[i] See above, p. 255.

death of another Morgeneu, or some similar name, occurred in the year 1023, and the Annals fix 1039 and 1061 as the dates of the decease of Bishops Ervin and Joseph respectively.[j] Between those of the last named prelates, the catalogues place the episcopate of Tramerin (perhaps Trahaiarn),[k] who was consecrated by Ælfric Archbishop of Canterbury, as Bleiddud the successor of Joseph was by Æthelnoth.[l] Bleiddud died, according to the *Annales*, in 1071,[m] and was succeeded by Sulien, celebrated in the Welsh Chronicle as "the wisest of the Britons,"[n] and not less remarkable as himself a bishop, and the father of an actual bishop and of a bishop-elect. Another son, Ieuan ap Sulien, has left us a metrical biography of his father, entitled *Sulgenus filius Sulgeni in laudem patris*,[o] from which it appears that he was a native of Llanbadarn-fawr, and after passing many years in study in Scotland and Ireland (the latter country being at that time celebrated for its scholars), was elected to the see, which he twice resigned and twice resumed at the urgent entreaty of the people.[p] The year after that of his elevation to the see Sulien

Bishops Morgeneu II., Ervin, Tramerin, Joseph, and Bleiddud;

Bishop Sulien:

[j] 1025.—"Morgannuc epʒs obiit.
1040.—"Erwyn epʒs Meneviæ obiit.
1064.—"Joseph Meneviæ epʒs obiit."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* I. pp. 839, 840.

[k] Tramerin died in 1055. "Religiosus vir Tramerinus Walonicus antistes decessit."—*R. de Diceto*, Twysden, p. 188. He is said by Godwin to have acted as coadjutor to Æthelstan, Bishop of Hereford.

[l] R. de Diceto, Twysden, pp. 461, 467. The same authority informs us that Elvod, Bishop of St. David's, whom he mentions after Tramerin, was consecrated by the same Primate. The name appears nowhere else. Can it be the person elsewhere called Joseph?

[m] "Anno MLXXI. . . . Menevia vastatur a Gentilibus & Bangor similiter. Bledud Episcopus Menevensis moritur. Sulgenus Episcopatum accessit."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 649.

[n] "Y doethaf or Brytanyeit."—*Brut y Tywysogion; Myv. Arch.* II. p. 399.

[o] It is in Latin hexameter verse, and was written on the loose leaves of a copy of some works of St. Augustine, transcribed by Ieuan for his father's use. The MS. was nearly consumed in a fire which happened in the Cotton Library, in 1731. The remaining fragments were published by Bishop Burgess, in a small pamphlet, printed at Durham in 1812.

[p] "Ortus hinc Sulgenus jam germine claro
Nobilium semper sapientum jure parentum
Qui postquam primo nablam tener edidit infans
Perlustrat scholas studio flor . . . . . .
. . . . . stenta simul ardore . . . . . .
Exemplo patrum commotus more legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros
Sed cum jam cymba voluisset adire revectus
Famosam gentem scripturis atque magistris

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Bishop Abraham; Sulien again;

abdicated it, and was succeeded by Abraham, in the second year of whose episcopate St. David's was again attacked by Northmen, and the bishop shared the fate of Morgeneu.[q] Sulien now resumed the see, which he held altogether for twelve years, during which he is said to have had the honour of receiving the Conqueror as a pilgrim to the shrine of St. David, which however was stolen from the church, and rifled, in one of the later years of his life.[r] The year of his death is remarkable as that of the last descent of external invaders on St. David's, which seems on this occasion to have been utterly destroyed by

Appulit ad patriam ventorum flatibus actus
Nomine qua noto perhibent Albania longe
Ac remoratus ibi recte tum quinque per annos
Indefessus agit votum

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Scotorum visitat arva
. . . . mox scripturas multo meditamine sacras
. . . s divine scrutatus sæpe retractans
. . . bi per denos tricenos jam placidus annos
. . . . . pondere massam
. . . . . ente recondens
Post hæc ad patriam remeans jam dogmate clarus
Venit et inventum jam multis dividit aurum
Proficiens cunctis discentibus undique circum
Reges quem Populi Cleri cunctique coloni
Omnes unanimes venerantur mente serena
Quatuor ac proprio nutrivit sanguine natos
Quos simul edocuit dulci libaminis amne
Ingenio claros jam sunt hæc nomina quæque
Rycymarch sapiens Arthgen Danielque Johannes
Qui quoque post tantum populorum famine famam
Cunctorum precibus superatus summus ut esset
Vallis jam Rosinæ Præsul deducitur ecce
Vitam qua puram perfecit David ovanter
En igitur Sulgenus adest mihi jam pater almus
Pontificis David cathedram qui regit amænam
Bis revocatus ibi duodenos egerat annos."—*Sulg. in laud. Patris.*

Compare Myv. Arch. II. pp. 522, 524, 525.

[q] "Anno MLXXVI. . . . Sulgenus episcopatum deserit, et Abraham accepit.
"Anno MLXXVIII. Menevia à Gentilibus vastatur; & Abraham a Gentilibus occiditur. Sulgenus iterum Episcopatum accepit."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 649.

[r] See above, pp. 104, 106.

them.[s] He appears from the *Annales* to have been succeeded by his son Rhyddmarch, the biographer of St. David,[t] but the name does not occur in the catalogues. Rhyddmarch died in 1096, eight years after his father,[u] "the godliest, wisest, & greatest clerke that had been in Wales manie yeares before, sauing his father, who had brought him up, and a great number of learned disciples."[v] Rhyddmarch also appears to have been married, and to have left a son named Sulien, who is described as a "foster child of the church of Llanbadarn,"[w] and whose death is placed in 1145. Rhyddmarch was succeeded by a person variously named Wilfrid, Griffri, and Geoffrey.[x] The first of these appellations is assigned to him in the contemporary work of Eadmer,[y] and as there is positive proof that he was a Welshman,[z] it is clear that the English monk gave the nearest possible rendering of his name, which was very likely Gruffydd. His reign appears to have been a stormy one, in consequence of the settlement of Norman invaders on either side of him. To the north, Martin de Tours had formed the seigniory of Cemaes between the Teify and the Preseley mountains; on the other side Arnulf de Montgomery and Gerald de Windsor had laid the foundations of the great earldom of Pembroke. The Bishop was in possession of the lordship of Dewisland, which is said to have been granted to the Church by Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, in 1082,[a] but which may have been regarded as the patrimony of St. David from a very early period. This district had already been invaded by Gerald de Windsor during the episcopate of his predecessor,[b] and although it does not appear that the church at any time lost the rule of it, Bishop Wilfrid was persuaded or intimidated into giving up or granting away a portion of it, as

Bishop Rhyddmarch;

Bishop Wilfrid;

[s] "Anno MLXXXVIII. Sulgenus Episcopus lxxv. ætatis suæ anno moritur. Menevia frangitur & destruitur à Gentilibus."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 649. *Myv. Arch.* II. p. 523.

[t] In the second copy of the *Brut y Tywysogion* he is called "Rhyddmarch Esgob Dewi."—*Ibid.* p. 401.

[u] "Anno MLXCVI. Rikemarth filius Sulien Episcopus moritur."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 649.

[v] H. Lhuyd, p. 156. Compare Myv. Arch. II. p. 532.

[w] "Mab maeth eglwys llan padarn."—*Ibid.* p. 56.

[x] "Ac y bu uarw Jeffrei escob Mynyw."—*Ibid.* p. 413.

[y] Eadmer, Hist. V.

[z] A.D. 1115.—"Wilfridus eps de Sto *David* in *Walonia* obiit. Usq; ad illum episcopi extiterunt Brittanici."—*Sim. Dunelm, apud Twysden*, p. 236.

1114.—"Wilfridus Menevensis Eps moritur, cui successit Bernardus."—*Ann. Margam, apud Gale, Scr. V.* p. 4.

[a] Men. Sac. I. p. 30.

[b] H. Lhuyd, p. 154.

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well as other more distant possessions. Llanrian in Dewisland, Cenarth-mawr in Emlyn, Lawrenny, and Ucceton (?) are expressly mentioned.[c] The extent of this spoliation gives one a notion of the wealth and influence which the bishops of St. David's had acquired in the British period. This act of compliance on the part of Wilfrid may have been the offence which drew upon him the censure of St. Anselm, by whom he was suspended, and afterwards restored;[d] a fact which, as we receive it on contemporary authority, proves beyond dispute that the archbishops of Canterbury exercised metropolitan jurisdiction over the see of St. David's before the time of Bishop Bernard.

Censured by St. Anselm;

Upon the death of Wilfrid in 1115, the clergy of St. David's elected Daniel, another son of Bishop Sulien, to succeed him. But the see of St. David's was too important a prize and too sure a means of influence to be neglected by the aggressive Normans, at a time when their influence in South Wales was threatened by a new aspirant, who had already been protected from their influence by the power of the Church.[e] Foreign bishops had already been placed in the sees of Bangor and Llandaff, and King Henry determined to confer that of St. David's upon one of his own nation "contrarie to the minds of all the Clergie of *Wales*, who were alwaies accustomed to choose their bishop."[f] Accordingly Bernard, Chancellor to Queen Matilda, who was not as yet even in Priest's orders, was selected for the office. He was ordained priest on a Saturday, and consecrated bishop on the day following.[g] Daniel the bishop-elect retired into Powys, of which he became archdeacon, and where he was celebrated as a peacemaker among the turbulent chieftains of his day.[h] He died in 1127.[i]

Daniel, bishop-elect.

Thus ends the history of the British Church, regarded as a communion possessing a claim, or even the shadow of a claim, to independence of the metropolitan power of Canterbury. How far that independence was asserted or realized during the two centuries preceding the era of which we are speaking, we have shown to be very doubtful. But the probability is that the Church of St. David's possessed an irregular and precarious liberty, analogous

Nature of the change which took place at this time:

[c] Ang. Sac. II. p. 534. [d] Eadmer, II. p. 33. [e] H. Lhuyd, p. 176.
[f] H. Lhuyd, p. 175. [g] Eadmer, V. p. 116. [h] H. Lhuyd, p. 187.
[i] "Daniel filius Sulgeni episcopi moritur."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 649.

to that which was held by the native princes in temporal matters,—real, when nobody interfered with it, but shrinking into the very smallest dimensions on the approach of an aggressor. And it may be reasonably doubted whether the other bishops of Wales at any period owed allegiance either to the supposed archbishops of St. David's, or to the prelates of any other Welsh see. This view enables us to account for the comparatively easy transition from the British to the English line of prelates, for we may well suspect that such resistance as was made at the time and subsequently by the Welsh clergy, was more on national than on ecclesiastical grounds.

At the same time it is evident that the change, however easily effected, was of a very vital character, and one which has had an influence on the fortunes of the Welsh Church, which it is not easy to exaggerate. But in contemplating it, we shall gain not merely an inadequate, but an altogether distorted view of its real nature, if we regard it separately from two parallel and concomitant facts, the political and social revolution which was taking place in Wales, and the similar ecclesiastical changes which were being made in other parts of the kingdom.

As to the former point, it must be remembered that the whole power of South Wales had passed into the hands of Norman settlers, before the death of Bishop Wilfrid. We may consider that the independence of that principality ended with the life of Rhys ap Tewdwr in 1090, and the quarter of a century which elapsed between that date and the return of his son Gruffydd in 1116, was occupied in extending and consolidating the power of the aggressors in the country, who would doubtless regard themselves, at the close of that period, as the established lords of the soil. Nor was their power ever permanently disturbed, in spite of the brilliant but short-lived successes of Gruffydd ap Rhys, the Lord Rhys, and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. It was therefore certain, under such circumstances, that the higher offices of the Church would be transferred to the same power which had already absorbed every avenue to wealth, authority and dignity.

And in fact this was only what had taken place elsewhere only half a century before. The sees and rich abbeys of England were filled with French prelates, some of whom were intruded by a much less ceremonious process than that which had placed the Chancellor Bernard on the throne of St. David, and

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without waiting for the decease of the former occupants. The constitution of the cathedrals and monasteries were in many instances changed; the very Saints were banished from the churches heretofore regarded as being under their tutelage. No doubt the Welshman of the twelfth century had much to complain of in his spiritual as well as his temporal condition; but his lot was in neither respect harder than that of the contemporary Englishman, if we except the very questionable claim to independence of the see of Canterbury.

So long, then, as the two nations in England remained distinct in language, manners and feeling, there would not be much difference between the ecclesiastical conditions of Wales and England, beyond that which might naturally be expected from antecedent circumstances. But there is this wide difference, that the amalgamation which subsequently took place in England, has never come to pass in Wales. The language of the dominant class has never become the language of the people, or *vice versâ*; and the leading clergy have had to choose between cutting themselves off from the mass of the people, and isolating themselves from all external influences. Which alternative they ought to have adopted is scarcely a practical question, as there can be no doubt which they were sure to adopt, human nature being what it is. But here it must be repeated that the severance which took place between the leading clergy and the people, was really only what was taking place between the upper and lower classes of the laity. The appointment of a Norman bishop was only part of a much more extensive change, which was inevitable.

Language;

However, it is certain, that the appointment of a bishop ignorant of the vernacular language, was felt to be a great grievance at the time.[j] The Welsh Princes, in their commendatory epistle to Innocent III., complain loudly of the intrusion of prelates, equally ignorant of the manners of the country and of its language.[k] Yet it is impossible to avoid observing in the document alluded to that the principal grievance which its authors felt, consisted in the authority possessed by foreigners over their own subjects, and the great influence of the spiritual vassals whom the English king had planted in the heart of their dominions. And it is not a little remarkable that Giraldus, who was the bearer of this epistle, and rather fond of declaiming against bishops

[j] Ang. Sac. II. p. 476.

[k] *Ibid.* p. 574.

ignorant of the Welsh language, was, although elected Bishop of St. David's, in all probability ignorant of the Welsh language himself.[l]

But in order to estimate the full effects of the change which took place at this period, we must contemplate briefly the previous condition of the Welsh Church, so far as it can be gathered from the scanty materials which we possess on the subject. One of the most striking characteristics, as compared with the mediæval system, is the apparently general absence of clerical celibacy. Bishop Sulien, as we have seen, had a large family, and was succeeded by one of his sons, according to what we are informed was the general practice of the clergy. For the benefices appear in many instances to have passed regularly from father to son, not only in the parochial cures, which must have had very much the character of a modern family living, but even in the cathedral itself. Against this system Giraldus inveighs most vigorously.[m] The canons' sons, he tells us, married the canons' daughters, and the cathedral had altogether the appearance of a family party.[n] Yet this same Giraldus, who holds up his hands in pious horror at an ecclesiastical succession from father to son, seems not to have been equally scandalized at the notion of transmission from uncle to nephew, as he became a candidate for the see on the death of his uncle David Fitzgerald, and afterwards resigned the Archdeaconry of Brecon, with other preferments, in favour of his nephew William de Barry.

Celibacy;

It seems clear, from the open and avowed character of the succession-system, which would seem to have existed from a very early date in the British Church,[o] that these *liaisons* of the clergy were regarded as real and legitimate marriages previous to the change which we are now contemplating. Yet it appears to have been discouraged by the laws of the country, as the son of a priest, born after his ordination, was regarded as illegitimate, and had no share of his father's property.[p] In the time of Giraldus, marriage indeed was altogether forbidden, but concubinage was extremely common. That author gives vent to a great amount of pious indignation against the state of things which he found in existence. They have midwives, he says, and nurses and cradles under the very shadow of the Cathedral.[q] But it may be questioned

[l] Ang. Sac. II. p. 491. [m] *Ibid.* pp. 450, 525. [n] *Ibid.* p. 526.
[o] It was established in Brittany also.—*Ibid.* [p] Leges Hoeli Boni, IV. 188.
[q] Ang. Sac. II. p. 525.

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whether even at that time the so-called concubines of the Welsh clergy were not legally and formally, as they certainly were in every practical sense, their wedded wives.[r]

This licence was by no means confined to the inferior clergy, but was assumed by more than one of the Norman bishops of St. David's, though doubtless under a less respectable name than that of wedlock. Peter de Leiâ, says Giraldus, was the first bishop of St. David's, in that age, who was guilty of incontinence.[s] When we remember that Giraldus would use that term with very considerable latitude, we cannot acquit him of partiality towards his own uncle, who had a large family of sons and daughters.[t]

Partition of benefices;

The change which took place at this period in the constitution of the Cathedral body, will be noticed hereafter. At present we must point out a curious arrangement with regard to the parochial churches, which also excited the wrath of Giraldus. He complains loudly and repeatedly of the mode of dividing benefices between two or more incumbents.[u] The church of Kerry in Montgomeryshire, as he tells us, had two such rectors,[v] one in Radnorshire had six or seven, and he intimates that so large a number was not unusual.[w] We are not to suppose that this statement implies the existence of a collegiate foundation in those churches; but that they were simply instances of portionist rectories, such as are still to be found in England. No doubt their true origin in Wales, and the feature which made them so obnoxious to Giraldus, was the succession-system already spoken of, in accordance with which the benefices, like the land, were divided by gavel-kind. That this is the real history of the system, and that grave abuses frequently grew out of it, is attested by the fact that the rectory of Hay, in Brecknockshire, was divided between two brothers, one a clerk and the other a layman.[x] As we have no traces of this arrangement in later times, we are doubtless justified in assigning it to the ante-Norman period.

Character and conduct of the Norman bishops;

These were the peculiar elements of the ecclesiastical state, which, combined with the general laxity arising from the disordered condition of the country,

[r] Ang. Sac. II. p. 525, *Note.* [s] *Ibid.* p. 538. [t] *Ibid.* p. 652.
[u] *Ibid.* pp. 450, 519. [v] *Ibid.* p. 472. [w] *Ibid.* p. 471. [x] *Ibid.* p. 470.

the Norman bishop found on his intrusion into the see of St. David's. And he came, not merely as a foreigner and speaking a foreign language, but as the representative of the two races whom his people hated equally, their old enemies and their new oppressors,—as the nominee of a French tyrant, and his agent in subverting their liberties. Moreover the history of some of the prelates of this period proves that they had little care for the interests of the diocese. They rarely visited it, and passed their time either at the royal court, or in travelling about, and quartering themselves on the rich English abbeys. They impoverished their churches, and permitted the tithes to be appropriated to English monasteries, a blow from which the Welsh Church has never recovered. They utterly disregarded the privileges of the ecclesiastical corporations in their diocese, and ousted their incumbents without mercy. The church of Llanbadarn-fawr, after the cessation of the episcopate, retained something of a cœnobitic or collegiate character to at least the beginning of the thirteenth century, in spite of an attempt at the commencement of the twelfth to appropriate its revenues to the Abbey of Gloucester. It was in the hands of canons,[y] the chief of whom appears to have borne the title of archpresbyter;[z] but by a strange anomaly the dignity of abbot was conferred on a neighbouring chieftain whom the clergy selected as their protector.[a] There is no evidence how long the church retained its collegiate constitution, but it must have done so beyond the middle of the thirteenth century, when the present fabric was erected, and may have done so until the appropriation of its revenues to Vale-Royal in 1360. However, Bishop Geoffrey de Henelawe instituted a rector to Llanbadarn, without respect to the rights of the canons, an unexampled act, says Giraldus, on the part of a bishop of St. David's.[b]

Nor did the bishops spare the endowments of their own see, but partly by alienation and partly by subinfeudation, granted away a large part to the avaricious invaders.[c] To indemnify themselves they laid heavy burdens on their clergy. They supplicated for aids, they imposed tallage and tolls, and sold their collations with the utmost effrontery.[d] Giraldus recites a series of rather racy anecdotes, illustrative of the utter corruption of the see.[e] He compares the bishops to Simon Magus, or rather to Gehazi. Nor did the

[y] Ang. Sac. I. p. 618. [z] H. Lhoyd, p. 193. [a] Girald. Itin. Camb. II. c. 63.
[b] Ang. Sac. II. p. 618. [c] *Ibid.* p. 531. [d] *Ibid.* pp. 527, 530. [e] *Ibid.* pp. 522, 530.

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laity escape the exactions of their unscrupulous pastors. The poor peasantry of Dewisland, over whom the bishops exercised sovereign rights, were plundered by the stewards of the lordship without mercy. "They were not content to pluck them," says our informant,—"they skinned them."[f]

To render the oppression of the Welsh Church complete, there seemed to be no chance of a deliverance from these evils. No Welshman could hope to be a bishop; no Norman or Englishman born in Wales had any reasonable expectation of it.[g] Not until the year 1215, when the altered relations of Church and State had given a temporary licence to the Chapter, was a Welshman appointed to the see; and this was probably an isolated case between the consecration of Bernard and the close of the fifteenth century. Of the subsequent bishops who were connected with Wales by birth or otherwise, all, with perhaps one exception, were of Norman lineage. This was no fault of the canons, at least in the earlier period, who elected Welsh candidates repeatedly, but without effect. They were themselves Welshmen, with one or two exceptions, at the period of which we are treating, a circumstance which may be due partly to the principle of succession, so much deprecated by Giraldus, which had not yet been eradicated. At a somewhat later period, and until quite recently, a large proportion of the stalls were generally occupied by Englishmen. We probably owe to the increased authority of the bishops, and perhaps also to the augmentation of its endowments, this partial denationalization of the Cathedral.

and of the capitular clergy.

The general condition of the Welsh capitular clergy excited the contempt as well as the commiseration of Giraldus. To say nothing of the characteristics already described, which, whether good or bad, were odious to him as being opposed to the principles and maxims of the age, he speaks of them as far inferior, in intellect as well as in morals, to the Norman and English clergy.[h] They were timid, vacillating, and open to bribery of all kinds. But we must not forget that oppression and spoliation had destroyed their sense of independence, and left them at the mercy of the powerful and the wealthy. In this brief sketch of their condition we have been obliged to anticipate a

[f] "Non solum deplumari verum & excoriari solent."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 529.

[g] *Ibid.* p. 521. David Fitzgerald, however, was not only a native of Wales, but partly of Welsh lineage.

[h] *Ibid.* p. 525.

great deal which belongs to the age succeeding that of which we are now treating. But it appeared impossible to complete the picture of the Church during the ante-Norman period, without referring to the distinctive peculiarities of the Welsh clergy during the subsequent era.

Second Period, 12th to 16th century. Bishop Bernard:

Bernard, the first foreign Bishop of St. David's, is described by Giraldus as a man of brilliant talents and of courtly manners.[i] But he was restless, ambitious, and apparently somewhat unscrupulous. He followed the example of dilapidation which had been set by his predecessors, chiefly, as was supposed, with the view of gaining favour at court. For he was perpetually looking out for preferment, so much so that one is surprised to find him maintaining the interests of his see in two great questions which were in agitation at the time.

Controversies with the Bishop of Llandaff.

The limits of the Welsh dioceses had probably never been very accurately fixed. As late as the end of the twelfth century there was a controversy between the sees of St. David's and St. Asaph for the possession of the valuable church of Kerry;[j] and upon his accession to the see, Bernard found himself involved in litigation with Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, about the right of jurisdiction over a much larger district. Urban claimed from the see of St. David's the entire region lying between the rivers Neath and Towy, with a portion of Brecknockshire, and from that of Hereford, the district of Archenfield, in Herefordshire.[k] We have seen already that the frontiers of his diocese were very probably extended during the temporary exaltation of the princely line of Glamorgan in the person of Rhydderch ap Iestyn, at the beginning of the eleventh century.[l] But the boundaries had taken their present form some time before the commencement of the following century, as a claim was put forward on the part of the see of Llandaff between 1104 and 1115, which implies that the Bishop of St. David's was then actually in possession.

A full account of this controversy will be found in the later and more certainly genuine documents preserved in the *Liber Landavensis*, and there can be little doubt that we owe the greater part, if not the whole, of those which bear an earlier date to a desire on the part of the Llandaff clergy to

[i] Ang. Sac. II. p. 534.
[j] *Ibid.* p. 471.
[k] Lib. Landav. p. 556, *et passim*.
[l] See above p. 255.

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support their claim by written evidence as well to these districts, as to other possessions in dispute.[m] The controversy appears to have followed the usual course of litigation at the Roman court. The question was delayed from time to time, and was debated in the presence of three successive Popes, Calixtus II., Honorius II., and Innocent II. Honorius decided it in favour of Llandaff;[n] but the question being again raised in the time of his successor, was finally brought to an end by the death of Urban in 1133.[o] Innocent adjudged the disputed territory to the Bishop of St. David's,[p] in whose possession it has continued ever since.

and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The other controversy in which Bernard was one of the parties, was carried on with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bishop of St. David's raised or revived a claim to the metropolitan authority. When we recollect the extreme uncertainty which at that period hung over the provincial as well as the diocesan divisions, we shall not be surprised that an ambitious Norman, planted in an uncivilized and half-independent district, supported by vague and uncertified traditions, and backed by a body of Welsh clergy, anxious to deliver themselves by every means from Norman supremacy, should put forward a claim to archiepiscopal power, however little it may have been enjoyed by his predecessor; nor shall we regard the fact of his claim as any evidence that it was so enjoyed. Indeed the extreme lukewarmness of the Menevian clergy in the time of Giraldus, and the insanity which they ascribed to that ardent prosecutor of the claim, seem to prove that they were not very firmly convinced of its grounds.

The dispute was carried on during the whole episcopate of Bernard, as it was mooted in the time of Calixtus II., who died in 1124, and was kept alive throughout the reigns of Honorius II., Innocent II., Celestine II. and Lucius II.,[q] and seemed likely to be brought to an issue in that of Eugenius III. At that time Archbishop Theobald pleaded that Bernard had been consecrated by, and had sworn canonical obedience to, his predecessor Rodulph. Bernard admitted the first allegation, but denied the second. Witnesses were then produced to prove that he had taken the oath, and in spite of the exceptions taken by Bernard against their character, Eugenius, seduced it is said by a douceur

[m] Schöll, p. 41. [n] Lib. Landav. pp, 41, 44. [o] Ann. Margam.
[p] Will. Malm. Hist. Nov. I. 177. [q] Ang. Sac. II. p. 652.

of forty marks,[r] received their evidence and decided provisionally in favour of Theobald. But the ultimate settlement of the suit was postponed, and the 18th of October, 1149, was appointed for a further hearing.[s] Before that day had arrived, Bernard was dead.[t]

Bishop David Fitzgerald.

The Chapter assembled on his death, to choose a successor. Their votes were divided, and the Welsh canons, who as we have seen formed the majority, elected one of their own nation. But Theobald, afraid lest the patriotism of a Welsh bishop should prove an additional stimulus to his desire of emancipation, contrived to quash the election, and substitute "a good and safe man" from whom no opposition might be expected, and whom he took care to bind to acquiescence by a sufficient guarantee. The object of his choice was David, Archdeacon of Cardigan, the son of Gerald de Windsor, castellan of Pembroke, and descended from the princely family of South Wales, through his mother Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. The selection of a person of mixed parentage may be regarded as a conciliatory act on the part of Theobald; and if we may trust the brief biography of Bishop David, by an unknown author, the Archbishop was rewarded by the complaisance of his creature. This document places him in a very unfavourable light. It describes him as a most outrageous dilapidator, and as effecting his purposes by fraudulent means. It also informs us of the curious fact that the Cathedral was shut up for the greatest part of his episcopate.[u] It is amusing to contrast with this picture of David Fitzgerald the much more flattering one drawn by his nephew Giraldus.[v] Yet even this partial witness is obliged to confess that he impoverished his church, although "more sparingly and modestly" than his predecessors. The controversy respecting jurisdiction made no progress, and was barely kept alive during his reign. The bishop was restrained by his vow of obedience, and partly perhaps by his disposition, from taking any part in it; but a little before his death, which occurred in 1176,[w] the Chapter put in an appearance before the Papal legate, Uguccione Cardinal of St. Angelo.[x]

Giraldus Cambrensis: His previous history;

On the death of Bishop David, one person occurred to all as marked out to

[r] Ang. Sac. II. p. 652. [s] *Ibid.* p. 546. [t] *Ibid.* p. 652. [u] *Ibid.* p. 653.
[v] Ang. Sac. II. p. 535. [w] *Ibid.* p. 649. [x] *Ibid.* pp. 517, 535.

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be his successor, if we may place implicit credence in an extremely self-laudatory autobiography. This was Gerald de Barry, the fourth and youngest son of William de Barry, lord of Manorbeer, and Angharad his wife, daughter of Gerald de Windsor, and sister to the late bishop, under whose tutelage he had been brought up. Gerald, whom we must denominate by his literary title of Giraldus Cambrensis, had given early signs of his aptitude for learning and his taste for ecclesiastical affairs.[y] In process of time he became a student in the University of Paris,[z] where he passed through the ordinary course of Arts with great applause. He probably received ordination immediately on his return to Wales, where he was very shortly advanced to considerable preferment. Among that which he held at a somewhat later period we find the churches of Llanwnda, Tenby and Nangle[a] in Pembrokeshire, that of Chesterton in Herefordshire, and a prebendal stall in Hereford Cathedral. His uncle also made him a canon of St. David's. He found the diocese of St. David's in a state of extreme disorder. That this was actually the case, is no wonder, considering the circumstances through which the country had passed and was then passing. But it must not be forgotten that Giraldus looks upon that as utterly iniquitous, which was simply abnormal according to the ideas and practices which obtained in other and more civilized districts at the time. A large proportion of the doings with which he finds fault, are matters of the most purely positive and temporary obligation. Of this kind was the grave offence of the people of Pembroke and Cardigan, who stoutly refused to pay tithe of wool and cheese.[b] Giraldus received at his own instance a deputed authority from the Papal legate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to remedy this disorder. He soon reduced the Welsh to obedience, but the Flemings of Roos were too stubborn for him. The next crusade of Giraldus was against the matrimony, or concubinage, call it which you will, of the clergy, and the first and most notable object of his attacks was an old Archdeacon of Brecon, by name Jordan.[c] The publicity with which this dignitary adhered to the national custom, is a sufficient evidence to us that it was regarded as a matter of course; but it appeared to Giraldus only to enhance his guilt. Horrified at the open exhibition of such a scandal in high places, Giraldus gave the Archdeacon an

[y] Ang. Sac. II. p. 466.
[z] *Ibid.* p. 467.
[a] *Ibid.* p. 469.
[b] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 467, 8.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 469.

admonition, which was very naturally disregarded. On receiving a second admonition, the Archdeacon appears to have forgotten his dignity, and to have launched out into some very unclerical language at the expense of the Archbishop, by whose authority Giraldus was acting. The Archbishop at length removed him from his Archdeaconry and Prebend to a more unobtrusive position, where he might indulge himself with less scandal to the faithful. The vacant dignities were offered to Giraldus, who accepted them without hesitation, an act for which we are glad to find that he felt considerable compunctions of conscience in after years.[d]

His character;

From these occurrences in his early life, especially when it is remembered that we give them as narrated by himself, our readers will have been able to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the character of this celebrated personage. Gerald de Barry was active, bustling, and forward, blessed with a considerable amount of superfluous energy, and restrained by no kind of modesty, but rather supported in his really very arduous undertakings by an overweening self-admiration. The last characteristic appears very conspicuously in his record of his own transactions, where his egotism is thinly veiled by the continual use of the third person; and is further attested by his affected language and the artificial structure of his sentences. These are overcharged with antithesis and paronomasia, and when the author is unusually energetic, even break out into actual rhymes. But the same moral blemish is not without its good results in a literary point of view, as it renders the writer extremely lively, gossipping, and altogether amusing. Probably his peculiar circumstances, combined with those of his age and country, afforded additional scope both for the development and for the exhibition of this part of his character. A person of great mental power and activity, and infinitely better educated than those whom he saw immediately around him, found himself placed at an early age in a prominent position in the midst of a backward and barbarous people, among whom he possessed a considerable amount of hereditary influence. To such a person under such circumstances, the temptation to become an agitator must have been almost irresistible. His vanity would be attracted and gratified by popularity and

[d] Ang. Sac. II. p. 609.

celebrity; and popularity and celebrity are purchased at an easy rate in a remote and thinly-peopled country, where public opinion is neither strong nor critical. If his countrymen are conscious of existing exils, the agitator has only to point out a real or imaginary grievance, and however remotely it may be connected with the actual evils complained of, he will have no lack of admirers and followers. In taking up the cause of the see of St. David's against that of Canterbury, Giraldus appeared to the clergy and people, smarting under Norman oppression, to promise them immunity from all foreign interference whatever. Accordingly they seconded his endeavours warmly for a time, but only for a time. Although we cannot altogether accept his total disclaimer of personal ambition, we may give him credit for a certain sort of disinterestedness. He was quite in earnest in wishing to promote what he believed to be the good of the Welsh Church; but he wished to have the pleasure, and still more the credit, of doing it himself. He had not learned that true religion is best advanced by "quietness and confidence;" accordingly, had he lived six centuries later, he would have been a clamorous platform-speaker, or a smart pamphleteer, but living when he did, he was what he was. He really struggled for the independence of the see, as vigorously and probably more so than he did for his own establishment in it. But it is evident that he was borne up throughout by his intense self-consciousness, and prompted by ambition of another kind, that, namely, of following in the steps, if not emulating the fame, of Thomas Becket.[e] It was probably this ardent love of celebrity, taking the subtle form of an affectation of singularity, which induced him to identify himself so wholly with a race with which he was very remotely connected, and whom his own countrymen generally regarded with dislike and contempt. We may fairly presume that the epithet of Cambrensis, by which he is generally distinguished, was of his own choice, and that his rivals and opponents designed to parody this designation, when they honoured him with that of Silvester Giraldus, or "Gerald, the Wild Man of the Woods."[f] To one who set up for a scholar and a courtier, and who evidently valued himself on his perfect refinement of mind and manner, the irony implied in the latter appellation must have been

[e] Thierry, Norman Conquest, B. IX. Compare Ang. Sac. II. p. 479.
[f] Ang. Sac. II. p. 558.

peculiarly galling. It was not, however, in this way only that Giraldus affected to play the Welshman; for he continually boasts largely of his descent from the Welsh princes, which was only in the third degree after all, and that on the distaff side. Probably the very slight degree of his connexion with that race, only served to make him talk the more about it; as it is generally found that those who are possessed of a questionable amount of nationality, whether locally or ethnically, are the most vociferous in their assertion of it, a good deal of agitation being necessary to prevent the sentiment from evaporating altogether.

To the unwearied energy, coupled with extreme vanity, which has been mentioned as characteristic of Giraldus, we have to add a certain amount of practical shrewdness strangely combined with the most extraordinary simplicity. We shall hereafter recount the manner in which he permitted himself to be flattered and gulled by Pope Innocent III., whose artifices he seems to have been far too much blinded by vanity to see through, until he had lost all hope of preferment in that quarter. Among his contemporaries he had the character of being cross-tempered and not altogether courteous in his language; charges from which he labours to defend himself, and of which he would fain throw the odium on his enemies.[g] His ambition appears to have made him somewhat unscrupulous. We cannot pardon the way in which he contrived to supplant his predecessor in the Archdeaconry; and although he afterwards expressed penitence for having done so, it cannot be denied that the resignation of his office in favour of his own nephew, on condition that he should himself for a time receive its profits as administrator, was a very questionable sort of restitution, and had rather the air of a nominal sacrifice to escape the Nemesis of the uxorious Archdeacon. In person Giraldus was unusually tall, and in early youth had a slender figure, delicate features, and a remarkably fine complexion. At a latter period of life his face was strongly marked by his large and wild eyebrows.[h]

Such was the person from whose works we derive the greater part of the early mediæval history of St. David's, in which he himself plays no inconsiderable part; and such was the person whom, if we may trust his

Election at St. David's;

[g] Ang. Sac. II. p. 611.

[h] *Ibid.* p. 595.

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own account of the matter, the clergy of St. David's regarded as the most eligible successor to his uncle David Fitzgerald. But when the result of their election was declared, it appeared that out of deference to the royal authority, they had chosen four candidates, from whom they desired the King to select one.[i] These were their four Archdeacons, the name of Giraldus being placed at the head of the list, although he was not yet thirty years of age. But the Chapter had presumed to hold an election without having obtained a *congé-d'-élire*, and consequently drew down upon themselves the indignation and vengeance of King Henry. The election being declared void, the King, after consulting the bishops, who urged in vain the claims of Giraldus, forced the canons of St. David's to hold a chapter in his own presence at Winchester,[j] and to accept his nominee Peter de Leià, Prior of Wenlock, "a man," says his rival, "whom nobody knew either personally or by reputation."[k] The Bishop-elect, in spite of the remonstrances of Giraldus, took the oath of obedience to Canterbury, and so the controversy was hushed up for the present.

Bishop Peter de Leià.

During an episcopate of twenty-two years, Peter de Leià kept his word; and the claims of the see of St. David's were only kept alive by a protest made by the canons at the Third Lateran Council in 1179.[l] The Bishop was extremely unpopular, and managed to quarrel with the Welsh part of his flock, by whom he was actually driven away, so that he was obliged to pass the greater part of his time in England, the affairs of the diocese being administered by a series of officials, among whom was Giraldus himself. This statement rests wholly on the assertion of that writer, who regarded him with feelings not only of rivalry but of absolute hostility. We must, therefore, be prepared to receive it with caution, although it is impossible to determine the exact amount of exaggeration. The constant non-residence of Bishop Peter is hardly consistent with the splendid monument which he has left behind him; although this fact is quite compatible with the oppressive government attributed to him by Giraldus.[m] He died in 1199, and the possession of the see again became a matter of contention.

[i] Ang. Sac. II. p. 475.
[j] *Ibid.* pp. 477, 536.
[k] *Ibid.* p. 476. "Omnibus et singulis tam fama quam facie prorsus ignotus."
[l] *Ibid.* p. 539.
[m] *Ibid.* p. 649.

In the mean time Giraldus had not been idle. After his rejection from the bishopric, he repaired once more to the University of Paris, where he passed several years in the study of Theology and Canon Law.[n] His lectures in Canon and Civil Law were the admiration of all. His hearers supposed that he had spent many years at Bologna. Fortunately he has left us a choice extract as a specimen, which reminds one rather of the rhetoric of Polonius or Holofernes.[o] On his return to England he was appointed chaplain to Henry II., and accompanied his son John to Ireland, where the see of Leighlin and Ferns was offered to him,[p] as those of Cashel, Wexford and Ossory in Ireland,[q] and Bangor[r] and Llandaff in Wales were subsequently.[s] These he steadily refused, having set his heart on the see of St. David's. The time of his sojourn in Ireland was partly occupied in composing a work on the topography of that country, which he lost no time in bringing before the learned world. His mode of doing so is worthy of notice. When the book was completed, "wishing not to put his candle under a bushel, but upon a candlestick where it might give light," he betook himself to Oxford, "where the clergy had most influence and were most clerkly of any place in England." Here he read his work publicly; and as it was divided into three books, the recital occupied three several days. On the first day he gave a great feast to the poor of the town, on the second to the doctors and more eminent scholars, and on the third to the rest of the scholars with many knights and burgesses of the town: "a magnificent affair," he says,—"the golden age come back again!

Giraldus in Paris,

in Ireland,

and at Oxford;

[n] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 477, 8.

[o] "Proposueram priùs audire quam audiri, priùs discere quam dicere, priùs dubitare quam disputare. Eruditis enim auribus summæque eloquentiæ viris & minùs medullata sententiis oratio & jejuna verborum macies propinabitur. Supervacaneum enim est & omnino superfluum tam inter eloquentes arida quàm inter scientes & sapientes usitata proferre. Unde moralis Seneca noster, & ab ipso Sidonius. *Donec scientiam natura combiberit, non est major gloria dixisse quod scias quam siluisse quod nescias.* Veruntamen quoniam Augustino testante *turpis est omnis pars suo universo non congruens;* ne solus inter vos anomalus videar, neve solus loquentibus aliis taciturnitate præ cæteris Pythagoricus discipulus inveniar; elegi potiùs loquendo ridiculus quam tacendo discolus inveniri. Quam igitur vocem inter olores canoros clamosus anser emittet? Nova nimirum an nota proponet? Quoniam, ut ait Plinius, *Ardua res est vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, fastiditis gratiam, obscuris lucem, & dubiis fidem, & omnibus naturam.* Questio, quam præ manibus habemus, vetus est, sed nondum inveterata: lis dudum ventilata, sed adhuc sub judice."—*Ibid.* p. 478.

[p] *Ibid.* p. 486. [q] *Ibid.* p. 614. [r] *Ibid.* p. 495. [s] *Ibid.* p. 496.

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Such a thing was never seen in England."[t] In the year 1187 he accompanied Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury in his tour through Wales to preach the Third Crusade, and has left a valuable record of his labours in the *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. After this, being prevented from returning to Paris, by the war which had broken out between Richard I. and Philip of France, he studied at Lincoln, under William de Monte, Chancellor of that church.[u]

Tour of Archbishop Baldwin;

Election at St. David's;

On the death of Peter de Leià, the Chapter nominated four candidates in the following order of preference:—First and foremost came Giraldus; then Walter, Abbot of St. Dogmael's; thirdly Peter, Abbot of Whitland; and lastly Reginald Foliot, Canon of St. David's, and nephew of Peter de Leià, who was distinguished from his competitors by being the only Englishman among them.[v] These names were returned to the Grand Justiciary, Archbishop Hubert. The Archbishop, whose metropolitan rights were in danger of an attack, in case of the success of Giraldus, absolutely refused to receive him as a candidate. In the course of a rather lengthy correspondence with the Archbishop, Giraldus expresses his readiness to waive all claims on the score of his prior election to the see, and to acquiesce in any proper candidate that might be chosen. "Only," he says, "let us have a real pastor, and not a bishop who will bring scandal and shame on our poor church by making begging tours through England, and always hankering after the lucre of an English see. Above all, I will none of your black-hooded beasts."[w] The last remark was designed as a slight tribute to the memory of the late Bishop, a monk of the Cluniac order. Upon this the Archbishop proposed two new candidates, Geoffrey de Henelawe Prior of Llanthony, who owed his promotion to his medical skill more than to any directly professional qualifications, and a Cistercian monk named Alexander. As neither alternative was satisfactory to the canons, they were ordered to depute four of their body to hold an election in the royal presence; the King now being in Normandy.[x] Accordingly Giraldus and three of his supporters were chosen as delegates. On their arrival in London, the two candidates proposed by the late Justiciary Hubert, were again offered by his successor Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Earl of Essex, and again declined by the canons. They would not depart, they said, from their original choice.[y]

[t] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 489, 490. [u] *Ibid.* p. 496. [v] *Ibid.* p. 499.
[w] *Ibid.* p. 503. [x] *Ibid.* p. 504. [y] *Ibid.* p. 505.

The death of King Richard gave a temporary check to these negociations. His successor, if we may believe our informant, was at first inclined to accept the favourite candidate of the canons, but was dissuaded by the Archbishop from publicly confirming their choice.[a] Giraldus returned to St. David's, where he was formally elected in full chapter, to the great satisfaction, as he tells us, of the clergy and people. It was represented to him, moreover, that he should now strike a blow for the independence of his church, by seeking his consecration at the hands of the sovereign Pontiff, and thus escaping the pledge of obedience to Canterbury. To these representations he was disposed to yield, when the canons were astonished by a royal mandate, not altogether combining the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re* of a modern *congé-d'-élire*. They were ordered peremptorily to hold an election in the presence of the Archbishop and the Justiciary, and to choose Geoffrey de Henelawe as their bishop and pastor. If they failed to do so, the ceremony of election would be dispensed with, and the Primate would proceed to consecration at once. The Chapter acted like men, entered a caveat against the consecration, and appealed to the Apostolic See.[a]

Appeal of the Chapter;

And thus at length broke out a storm, which had been gathering for three quarters of a century in the ecclesiastical atmosphere, and which violently agitated it for five or six years. The great battle between the Regale and the Pontificale, which had kept the whole of Western Europe in confusion ever since the days of Gregory VII., seemed likely to be fought on the narrow ground of a poor Welsh bishopric. It remained to be seen whether Innocent would hold his own, but it soon appeared that Innocent was likely to have enough on his hands.

First journey of Giraldus to Rome:

On the 14th of August, 1199, Giraldus commenced his journey to Rome, accompanied by a canon and a vicar of the cathedral, and armed with credentials from the Chapter.[b] The early part of his journey was marked by a series of misadventures. His companions fell sick, one after the other. His books and money were sent to Brecon, to be out of the power of his English enemies, but unfortunately, in their passage across the Radnorshire mountains, they were stolen by his Welsh friends, who either were ignorant of the nature of his

[a] Ang. Sac. II. p. 507. [a] *Ibid.* p. 508. [b] *Ibid.* p. 509.

mission, or did not sufficiently value its object. By way of indemnification he was encouraged by a vision, which as it now appeared, had been seen by one of his companions some six-and-twenty years before. This dreamer had seen Giraldus at the head of a procession, and had heard him proclaimed as "the Elect of Ardennes."[c] This was interpreted as a prediction of his election to the See of St. Davids, Wales being at that time, like the Ardennes, a woody country,[d]—an insufficient reason, to say the least, for fixing on St. David's as the particular see to which he was to be elevated. However, it was now supposed to refer to the great labours which he was to undergo in passing through the Ardennes on his way to Rome after his actual election, and it was regarded as a special token that the latter was altogether in accordance with the designs of Providence.

Giraldus arrived at Rome about the close of November, and lost no time in presenting himself to the Pope, and propitiating him by the splendid offering of six books, composed by himself with great labour and care. These, as Giraldus fondly believed, were the constant companions of the Pontiff for many weeks. It happened, however, about ten days after his arrival, that a courier arrived in Rome bearing letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury. A certain clerk, suspecting their contents, stole them and offered them for sale to Giraldus. The "Elect of Ardennes" appears to have been disturbed by no scruples of conscience; but, seeing clearly enough that it was a delicate affair, he resolved to deal warily. Having reason to believe that the letters, which were addressed severally to the Pope and the Cardinals, were identical in their contents, he opened the letter directed to Cardinal Peter of Piacenza. By the advice of his friend John, Cardinal Bishop of Alba, he refused to have anything to do with the remainder, which were restored, not gratuitously, to the Archbishop's courier.

On receiving the letter the Pope summoned Giraldus to his presence, and requested him to read it.[e] "May it please your Holiness," said he, "but this fellow writes more like an Arch-fiend than an Archbishop. Truly he minds

[c] Ang. Sac. II. p. 510.

[d] Cf. Aristoph. Eq. 206, 7.

Τοῦτο περιφανέστατον,
ὁ δράκων γάρ ἐστι μακρὸν ὅ τ' ἀλλᾶς αὖ μακρόν.

[e] Ang. Sac. II. p. 511.

neither truth nor shame, so that he may do hurt." "Then you will answer him?" "I will, an it please your Excellency." Accordingly a day was fixed for the hearing, and on the 7th of January, after the Archbishop's letter had been read in full conclave, Giraldus opened his pleadings, with the principal grounds of which we are already acquainted.

During the whole of his stay at the Roman court, which lasted from four to five months, Innocent treated Giraldus with marked affability and a great show of kindness. One evening, as he entered the presence-chamber, the Pope saluted him suddenly: "Come forward my Lord Elect of St. David's." "I accept the omen," said Giraldus, and threw himself at his feet. "Nay, my friend," said Innocent, laughing, "I call thee but as other men do." But to the hearers the words had a deeper import, as the Pope never addressed a bishop-elect by his title before confirmation.[f] On another similar occasion, the Pope addressed him by the title of Archbishop. Giraldus could not trust his ears. Cardinal Ugolino, who was sitting next to the Pope, took care that this piece of encouragement should not fall to the ground. "Do you not hear what the Holy Father calls you?" "Archdeacon, I suppose, as usual." "No truly: he has saluted you Archbishop." Giraldus again prostrated himself, declaring that the words of such a Pontiff must be prophetic.[g]

About Midlent, in the year 1200, one Buongiovanni, an emissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, arrived at the Papal Court, and, as our informant believed and insinuates, did not come empty-handed.[h] Still the Pope appeared inclined to give Giraldus a favourable hearing. For to say the truth Giraldus himself, although he did not believe it possible that the Roman see could be bribed, and evidently regarded such a supposition as nothing short of blasphemy,[i] had spared no pains to point out the advantages which might accrue to it, in the event of St. David's recovering its metropolitan rights. The whole of Wales, he said, would readily pay him Peter's pence, which would be a matter of 200 merks and more, together with the Tenths, which would amount to more than 3000 merks.[j] However, Buongiovanni had his bribe ready. He advised Innocent to send a Nuncio to collect aids from the clergy of England, assuring him that the Archbishop would gladly forward his designs.[k]

[f] Ang. Sac. II. p. 544. [g] *Ibid.* p. 547. [h] *Ibid.* p. 545.
[i] "Curia Romana quam corrumpi (quod absit) posse putabat."—*Ibid.* p. 568.
[j] *Ibid.* p. 544. [k] *Ibid.* p. 545.

It was impolitic to offend so willing a benefactor, so that, to stave off the question, the Pope offered to appoint a commission to try the validity of the election, and soon afterwards, at the urgent request of Giraldus, appointed another to examine the question of metropolitan jurisdiction. To Giraldus himself the administration of the diocese was committed, and thus armed he returned to St. David's, chiefly, as it appears, with the view of procuring additional documentary evidence.[l] In this he was successful; but he was astonished to find that a new election had taken place, and that the Abbot of St. Dogmael's had been chosen by, the undue influence of the Archbishop.[m] The canons, too, in general were alienated from him: he thinks they were bribed; undoubtedly they were intimidated; and in all probability they were tired of agitation.

Return of Giraldus;

New election;

In the spring of 1201 he arrived in Rome for the second time, and was opposed there by his late competitor Reginald Foliot, and by one Andrew, who appeared as the proctor of the Archbishop.[n] A controversy of two months produced no determinate result, neither are its details at all worth recording. One fact, however, is curious as illustrating the extreme difficulty of arriving at the truth in an age in which the means of communication were so imperfect, and by consequence the caution with which the historian of such a period is obliged to receive even contemporary evidence. The controversy between Giraldus and his antagonists now hinged upon the question which of the two elections was prior in point of time. We may also be allowed to mention one of the secondary pleas of Giraldus, as not less characteristic of his age: he objected to the Abbot of St. Dogmael's as illiterate. The subsequent investigation of this point shows the precise extent of the charge, which might otherwise be doubtful. The Papal commissioners requested him to read the document which gave them their authority. His advocates urged that he was not accustomed to court hand, and that he ought to be examined in ecclesiastical books. They then produced a missal, written in a large and fair hand, and begged him to read and interpret it. After a good deal of prevarication, he excused himself.[o] The Pope deferred his final judgment on the election until the first of November in the following year but one, and undertook to hear the arguments on behalf of the metropolitan rights of the see, in case the majority of the Chapter should

Second journey of Giraldus to Rome;

[l] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 546, 7. [m] *Ibid.* p. 549. [n] *Ibid.* p. 550. [o] *Ibid.* p. 569.

desire it, a condition which, as Giraldus and probably Innocent foresaw from the present temper of that body, was not very likely to be realized.[p]

Return of Giraldus;

The year and a half succeeding the second return of Giraldus was spent in intricate and, as it turned out, fruitless inquiries and negociations. Meetings of the Papal commissioners were held at Brackley,[q] Bedford,[r] and St. Alban's[s] successively. At the last named place judgment was given against Giraldus: the canons, he tells us, forswore themselves, gave false evidence in the matter of his election, and absolutely refused to have anything to do with the metropolitan question. Giraldus, nothing daunted, appealed again to the Pope. In the meantime all the powers of Church and State had been brought to bear against him. The King, the Archbishop, and the Justiciary used every influence, direct and indirect, to thwart and persecute him. Nicholas Avenel was appointed bailiff of Pembroke in the room of the good-natured Ralph Bienville, to be a thorn in his side; and in conjunction with his neighbour the Lord of Cemaes made an incursion into his parishes in Dewisland.[t] A synod was summoned by him to Pembroke, but was prevented by the tyrannical bailiff.[u] But above all his brethren of the Chapter were grossly corrupt, and were bought at an easy rate by Archbishop Hubert. "He sent them," says Giraldus, "gold rings (though truly I think they were gilded) made in London, girdles tricked with gold and ivory, neck-chains of gold and silver fret-work, and all manner such gifts, wherewith that luxurious city doth so much abound."[v]

Third journey of Giraldus to Rome;

Giraldus commenced his third and last journey to Rome in the autumn of 1202.[w] At the outset he was wind-bound at Sandwich, and further detained by a proclamation issued by the Archbishop and the Justiciary, forbidding all persons to convey him out of the kingdom. However, he contrived to escape, landed in Flanders on the 2nd of November,[x] and reached Rome on the 4th of January 1203.[y] Here he found himself opposed by a host of enemies, raised against him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Among them were

[p] Ang. Sac. II. p. 552.
[q] *Ibid.* p. 562.
[r] *Ibid.* p. 564.
[s] *Ibid.* p. 567.
[t] *Ibid.* p. 566.
[u] *Ibid.* p. 562.
[v] *Ibid.* p. 554.
[w] *Ibid.* p. 570.
[x] *Ibid.* p. 571.
[y] *Ibid.* p. 572.

Osbert Archdeacon of Caermarthen, Reginald Foliot, John Tynemouth, and a Welsh monk named Walwyn. He resolved to lose no time, but opened his case before the conclave on third day from his arrival.[z] The old question of the date of election was now re-opened. Foliot produced his witnesses; but Giraldus ascertained that they had been hired by the Archbishop, and that some of them had never been at St. David's in their lives.[a] Giraldus had them cross-examined; and one Ifor of Llandaff, to a question about the situation of the Cathedral, replied that it was a long way from the sea, had only one tower, and very bad bells. It has been already stated that two of the three assertions would not suffice in these days to convict a witness of perjury; but it was otherwise at the time, whatever may be the precise construction we are to put upon them.[b] The adversaries of Giraldus now meditated a somewhat novel attack upon him. The Welsh monk, whom he had formerly excommunicated, stoutly accused him of having stolen his horse. Giraldus disproved the charge by a most extraordinary artifice, and his history thereupon breaks out into triumphant rhyme.[c] After a delay of three months, by an extraordinary amount of bribery and chicanery, the Pope decided the controversy by quashing both elections, and commanding the Chapter to proceed to a new one.[d] A new commission was issued to bishops of the province of York to try the right of metropolitan jurisdiction.[e] The champion of the church of St. David's was allowed one half of his expenses.[f] He was also constituted again administrator of the diocese, so long as the see should be void.[g] Upon this he took leave of the Pontiff, and the parting scene was characteristic. "Holy Father," said Giraldus, "I must now return to my country. I bid farewell to this court for ever." "I hope not, brother," was the answer; "what will become of the church of St. David's, and its claims?" "He who has quashed my election, has quenched that controversy too. I have hitherto been careful for the interests of the Holy See: I will now care for my own quiet. God knows that, in seeking my own promotion, I most affected the profit of our poor church, which is plundered by all, and is rich only in the recollection of its ancient dignity." Innocent made a show of emotion: "Brother," he said, "God has provided some better thing for thee than thou hopest." He was unwilling to dismiss so

Both the elections are annulled;

[z] Ang. Sac. II. p. 573.
[a] *Ibid.* p. 575.
[b] See above, p. 146, *Note.*
[c] Ang. Sac. II. p. 576.
[d] *Ibid.* p. 584.
[e] *Ibid.* p. 585.
[f] *Ibid.* p. 588.
[g] *Ibid.* p. 592.

promising a suitor in despair, and gave him encouragement to the last. But Giraldus at length saw through the artifice, and evaded it: "Surely, He will reward me in the next world, if not in this."[h]

Return of Giraldus;

Accordingly he left Rome, heavily burdened, as he tells us, with debt.[i] His expenses had been enormous, and although one half had been allowed him, this was only a partial relief. His creditors followed him to Bologna.[j] The scholars of the University absolutely refused to give security for him. The character of the town's-people was never such as to afford him any hope of assistance.[k] In despair he resolved to give himself up to his creditors. To his great surprise, however, the principal claimant, warned, as he told him, by a vision, undertook to lend him enough to satisfy the others. and to carry him as far as Troyes, where he expected a remittance from England.

After a temporary detention at Chatillon in Burgundy, for which he was indebted to his adversary John of Tynemouth, and in consequence of which he contrived very ingeniously to avenge himself on that personage,[l]—he arrived safely at Troyes, received his money, and liquidated his debts. From thence he proceeded by way of Paris to Rouen.[m] Here he found that during his absence, a compulsory election had been held at Northampton in the presence of the Archbishop and the Justiciary. The four candidates previously chosen by the canons were again nominated. The Archbishop decided in favour of Foliot.[n] But Giraldus, having found a useful ally in the Bishop of Ely, obtained by his means an audience with King John, who was now in Normandy. He prevailed upon him to defer the election for the present, and then proceeded to England.[o]

Election at Northampton;

In Wales he found everything in confusion. His own property had been mercilessly plundered: at Llanddew there was an execution in his house.[p] The canons of St. David's had quite deserted his cause, and on his arrival at that place, being ashamed to face him, withdrew without an exception.[q] Not

[h] Ang. Sac. II. p. 593.
[i] *Ibid.* p. 592.
[j] *Ibid.* p. 593.
[k] "E non pur io qui piango Bolognese:
. . . . . .
E se di ciò vuoi fede o testimonio,
Recati a mente il nostro avaro seno."—*Inferno*, xviii. 58–63.
[l] Ang. Sac. II. p. 594.
[m] *Ibid.* p. 597.
[n] *Ibid.* p. 598.
[o] *Ibid.* p. 599.
[p] *Ibid.* p. 601.
[q] *Ibid.* p. 603.

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Election at Westminster;

a soul in the town ventured to speak to him, save a poor old widow, who had nothing to lose by it. At length the writ was issued for a new election.[r] The canons met at Waltham in the presence of the Archbishop. The interference of Giraldus delayed the election, which took place at last in St. Catharine's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. The Justiciary advised Giraldus to nominate some foreign clergyman, who might be supposed to be free from national or local predilections. Accordingly he proposed two Normans, Richard, Dean, and Philip, Archdeacon of Rouen.[s] The other canons wished to have one of their own body; but to this Giraldus would not consent. On the next day he proposed Roger, Dean of Lincoln, and Walter Mapes, the celebrated Archdeacon of Oxford. Other names were mentioned, and the Justiciary fought hard for Geoffrey de Henelawe. On the following day, being the 10th of November, 1203, the final choice of the Chapter fell upon Geoffrey, to the great indignation of Giraldus, who at first threatened to appeal, but afterwards thought better of it.[t] The Prior of Llanthony was therefore consecrated without opposition. The dispute with the Archbishop was patched up on tolerably easy terms. Giraldus undertook not to press the claims of the see of St. David's during the life-time of Archbishop Hubert, stipulating, however, that no security should be given by Geoffrey that he would not do so at any future time. And the Archbishop was to refund to Giraldus the portion of his expenses allowed by the Pope, and, by way of an additional compensation, to confer upon him ecclesiastical benefices to the value of sixty merks! And thus was this long controversy lulled to sleep, never to be resuscitated. Giraldus was tired of it, and of all ecclesiastical affairs. He resigned his Archdeaconry to his nephew,[u] William de Barry, and withdrew from a life of unceasing agitation into one of retirement and learned leisure. He "renounced all public affairs, and devoting himself entirely to literature, under the title of Giraldus Cambrensis, Girauld the Cambrian, he obtained greater celebrity in the world as an elegant writer than he had done as the antagonist of power. In fact, few people in Europe, in the twelfth century, took any interest in the question whether or no the last remnant of the ancient population of the Celts should lose its religious and civil independence among foreigners."[v]

Giraldus retires from the contest.

[r] Ang. Sac. II. p. 606. [s] *Ibid.* p. 607. [t] *Ibid.* p. 608.
[u] *Ibid.* p. 609. See above, pp. 273, 283. [v] Thierry, *Norman Conquest*, B. ix.

Although Giraldus had formally renounced all claims to the see, it is clear that he watched the proceedings of his rival with a jealous eye. Of the episcopate of Geoffrey de Henelawe, which lasted for eleven years, we know very little; and that little, being derived from the strictures of Giraldus, is such as would condemn him, if our evidence were altogether trustworthy. He is described as a great oppressor of his clergy,[w] a grievous dilapidator, and as being seriously involved in simoniacal proceedings.[x] Nor was he altogether free, if we may credit our informant, from vices of a grosser kind.[y] His death occurred in 1214.[z] The King wished to promote to the vacant see Hugh Foliot, Archdeacon of Salop, and subsequently Bishop of Hereford.[a] But the long struggle between the royal and the pontifical power, which had just terminated in the revocation of the Interdict of 1207, left the cathedral chapters in a comparatively independent position, and the freedom of election was guaranteed to them on the 15th of January, 1215. Whether an election was actually held at St. David's before that day, it does not appear; but there can be no doubt that the victory gained by the Church in the person of Innocent, and the critical position in which the King stood at this time, left the canons at liberty to follow their own inclinations. Even before the death of the late Bishop, a party in the Chapter had secretly tendered their interest to Giraldus, subject, however, to certain conditions and pledges, which he could not but regard as simoniacal.[b] But the wish to elect him was by no means universal, and when the vacancy actually took place, their choice fell upon Iorwerth, Abbot of Talley in Caermarthenshire, the name of Giraldus not having been so much as mentioned in the Chapter.[c] The historian cannot conceal a certain amount of soreness, at having been so completely passed over; but he gives us what, there is no doubt, is the true explanation of it. So long as the canons were at the mercy of the King, it was in vain to elect a candidate of purely Welsh parentage, although they would willingly have done so if they might venture. Giraldus, being a Norman, might possibly be accepted by the Crown, while his connexion with the Welsh nation, slight as it was, and his real zeal for the Welsh Church, rendered him comparatively acceptable to the Chapter. But it was otherwise, when the fear of royal interference was removed. It was no longer necessary to have recourse

Bishop Geoffrey de Henelawe.

Bishop Iorwerth, or Gervase.

[w] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 531, 619.
[x] *Ibid.* p. 618.
[y] *Ibid.* pp. 619, 620.
[z] *Ibid.* p. 650.
[a] Browne Willis, p. 103.
[b] Ang. Sac. II. p. 527.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 521.

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to a compromise, and they elected without hesitation a bishop of purely Welsh blood.[d] The insinuation of Giraldus, that the successful candidate had resorted to corruption, is a calumny unworthy of its author.[e] Another motive which he ascribes to the canons, has a greater semblance of truth. He thinks that they were afraid of him, as a too zealous enforcer of ecclesiastical discipline, and that they expected Iorwerth, being one of their own nation, to indulge them in their national practices.[f] They believed him to be a good, plain man, who would not give them much trouble, and was rather inclined to be lukewarm. "But I hope to Heaven," says Giraldus, "they may be disappointed, and that they may find him either hot or cold." How far this aspiration was realized, it is not altogether in our power to say. But the fact that the earliest statutes for the government of the Cathedral now extant are due to this episcopate, and that an important step was taken at this time in the development of its constitution, seems to prove that Iorwerth was a more vigilant pastor than had been altogether anticipated.[g]

We must now take our leave of Giraldus, of whom we hear nothing after this date. He appears to have been engaged in literary labours as late as 1216;[h] and his death has been fixed in 1225,[i] but perhaps without sufficient evidence. By others his death has been placed in the seventy-fourth year of his age,[j] which would probably fall in the year 1219.

History of the See from 1215 to 1523.

From the accession of Bishop Iorwerth in 1215 to the death of Bishop Richard Rawlins in 1523, we have nothing like a continuous contemporary history of the See or Chapter of St. David's. The changes in the fabric, the augmentations of the endowments, and the gradual development of the capitular

[d] Ang. Sac. II. pp. 521, 522, 623. [e] *Ibid.* p. 624. [f] *Ibid.* p. 623.

[g] Lib. Stat. pp. 1, 2.

[h] Wharton's *Chronology of the Life of Giraldus* (*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 374) places the Dialogue "*De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*," and the work, *De Principis Instructione*, both of which, as he tells us, (*Ibid.* p. 627,) were composed in his seventieth year, in the year 1220, upon the supposition that he was born in 1150. This statement is repeated by Sir Richard Colt Hoare (*Itinerary of Giraldus*, I. p. lvi). But in his Preface, (p. xx.) Wharton has himself shown that it is erroneous; that Giraldus was born in 1146, and that the latest of his known works must therefore be placed in 1216. Certainly the passage just cited with reference to the expectations formed of Bishop Iorwerth, is more likely to have been published in the second than in the sixth year of his episcopate.

[i] Fuller. [j] Sir R. C. Hoare, *Itin. of Giraldus*, I. p. xlix.

constitution can be made out pretty minutely either from existing remains, or from actual records. Of the fabric we have already treated, and we shall reserve the history both of the Chapter and of the endowments, until we arrive at the close of the mediæval period, when both may be considered as for the first time completed. It would be possible from various scattered notices to make out more or less perfect biographies of the individual prelates, but this does not fall within our scope, any further than as it may illustrate the general history of the See. For convenience we shall divide the history of the church during the three centuries which lie before us, into three eras, of which the first extends from the year 1215 to 1280, the second from that year to 1414, and the third from 1414 to 1523.

First era, 1215–1280: Bishops Iorwerth or Gervase, Anselm de la Grace, or le Gras, Thomas Wallensis, and Richard de Carew.

The four bishops who successively occupied the see during the first of these eras, appear to have been more or less connected with the country. Iorwerth as we have seen, was a Welshman. Anselm who succeeded him, was a near kinsman of William de la Grace Earl of Pembroke,[k] better known by his title of office as William Marshall. His successor Thomas (1248–1255)[l] bore the surname of Wallensis, from which it is possible that he was of purely Welsh origin; and Richard de Carew, the last of the four, who was consecrated at Rome in 1256,[m] although probably of foreign extraction, evidently derived his name from Carew in Pembrokeshire, which may be assumed to have been the place of his birth.[n] Perhaps this fact may be indicative of the poverty of the see,[o] resulting from its frequent dilapidation by earlier prelates, and from the diminished importance attached to it since the determination of the metropolitan controversy. However this may be, they were distinguished from those who preceded them (with the exception of David Fitzgerald) and in the main from those who came after, by the peculiarity which we have already noticed,—and from the majority of those in the period immediately succeeding, by the fact that none of them occupied any distinguished civil position. Probably

[k] "Anno MCCXXXI. Anselmus nepos Marescalli consecratur apud Cantuariam in episcopum Menevensem."—*Ang. Sac.* I. p. 488. The *Annales Menevenses* fix his consecration in the previous year.—II. p. 650.

[l] *Ibid.*

[m] *Ibid.*

[n] For his antecedents see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Second Series, V. p. 143.

[o] Ang. Sac. II. p. 527.

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they lived quietly in their diocese,[p] and devoted themselves wholly to its interests. In particular, they attended to the regulation of the Chapter. Iorwerth, as has been said already, is the first bishop whose ordinances are still preserved; and both he, Thomas Wallensis, and Richard de Carew, founded dignities in the Cathedral, an account of which may be reserved until we come to the consideration of the capitular history. Nor must we forget that we owe to this period a large portion of the fabric, together with much that has been destroyed to make room for what we see at present. The poverty of the bishopric is inconsistent with the supposition that its incumbents contributed largely to these improvements, which are probably due in part to extraordinary taxes imposed upon the clergy, and more extensively to the oblations made at the shrine of St. David, and collected in different parts of the diocese. The erection of a new feretory by Richard de Carew was probably connected with the source of income last mentioned.[q]

Second era, 1280–1214:

In passing from Bishop de Carew and his predecessors to the line of prelates who successively occupied the see during the remainder of the thirteenth century and the whole of the fourteenth, we are at once struck by the remarkable contrast subsisting between them. Instead of the ambitious and unscrupulous ecclesiastics who were intruded into the bishopric during the first century after the conquest, or the active and vigilant, but otherwise undistinguished, pastors who succeeded them, we suddenly meet with a series of bishops, apparently no less sedulous in their official duties, but differenced from them by their prominent civil positions, and evincing, both by that fact and by other indications, the higher reputation to which the see had at this time attained.

Bishop Thomas Beck;

The first of these was Thomas Beck, who succeeded Richard de Carew in 1280.[r] Previously to his election he had held the offices of Lord Treasurer,[s] and Chancellor of the University of Oxford,[t] the latter being one of lower

[p] It appears, however, that Richard de Carew passed a whole year in France.—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 650.

[q] See above. p. 104.

[r] Ang. Sac. II. p. 651.

[s] Browne Willis, p. 104.

[t] Smith's *Annals of University College*, p. 12. A composition between Thomas Beck, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Wymond le Lingedraper, a burgess of Oxford, 1270, is still extant in the treasury of that College.

dignity, but of far higher importance than at present. He had also been keeper of the King's Wardrobe,[u] and had the custody of the Great Seal during the absence of Edward I. from England in 1279.[v] In 1284 Archbishop Peckham held a metropolitan Visitation throughout the dioceses of Wales,[w] and we are told that the Bishop of St. David's claimed to be exempt from his jurisdiction.[x] This was the last assertion of the old claim to independence of the see of Canterbury, and it was perfectly unsuccessful. The Archbishop held his Visitation, and published certain injunctions to the Church of St. David's, which contain the results of his investigations.[y] He complains of several disorders in the Cathedral body, and in particular of the non-residence of the greater part of the canons, and of the inveterate system of concubinage. The Archbishop ordains that offenders in the latter respect are to be no longer indulged, but are to be deprived of their canonries at once.

Visitation of Archbishop Peckham;

Like his predecessor and Bishop Iorwerth, Beck extended the Cathedral foundation, and, as regards the number of the individuals composing the corporation, brought it to its present condition. At the same time he established in different parts of his diocese two subordinate foundations, apparently with a view of extending to the more neglected parts of the country the advantages which, from its isolated situation, the Cathedral of St. David's diffused only over a very limited space.

Foundation of Colleges at Llangadoc,

The first of these was founded on the 9th of September, 1283, "in honour of St. Maurice and St. Thomas the Martyr, in the parts of Ystrad-Tywi, the neglected condition of which, and the founder's earnest desire for their reformation, are set forth in the preamble of his charter. It was to be under the visitation and immediate government of the Bishop and his successors, who were to have a stall in the choir and a voice in the Chapter; and although it is not expressly ordained that the Bishop should act as Dean, yet so much may be inferred from the analogy both of St. David's Cathedral and of the sister foundation of Llanddewi-Brefi, and is perhaps implied in the provision just cited. The office of Dean is first mentioned in a document of the year 1290, and was then already annexed to the see of St. David's, as it has been ever since, and as there can be no doubt that it was originally. The foundation

[u] Rymer's Fœdera, I. p. 519. [v] *Ibid.* p. 575. [w] Ang. Sac. II. p. 651.
[x] Browne Willis, p. 106; MS. additions. [y] Wilkins' Concilia, II. p. 106.

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was to consist further of one-and-twenty canons, comprising an equal number from the three superior Orders of the Clergy, each of whom was to maintain a perpetual Vicar of his own degree,—of five clerks in minor Orders,—and certain singing-men and boys.[z]

"This body was originally placed in the church of Llangadoc, in Caermarthenshire, the revenues of which appear to have formed its only corporate endowment. One-third of these was assigned to the Precentor, who alone was bound to perpetual residence; the remainder was divided equally among the canons, with a provision that, if the number of residents should fall below seven, two-thirds of the corporate revenues should be assigned in the first instance to the fabric, and secondarily to the support of the vicars, at the discretion of the Bishop.[a] The canons were severally endowed with the following prebends:[b]—

Priests	*Deacons*	*Subdeacons*
1 Llandegle	1 St. Harmon	1 Trallwng
2 Llangynllo	2 Royl[d]	2 Llanganten[f]
3 Llanddow and Llandefaelog[c]	3 Llanbedr[e]	3 Llanbister
4 Llanelwydd	4 Mochdre	4 Llangammarch
5 Llansantffraed	5 Llandygwydd	5 Llanarthney
6 Llanwrthwl and Llanlleonfel	6 Garthbrengi	6 Llansilian[g]
7 Llanfynydd	7 Lledrod	7 Nantcwnlle

Abergwili,

"This foundation was very soon removed from Llangadoc to Abergwili, in consequence, as it is alleged, of the scandalous conduct of one of its members.[h] In a grant to Bishop Beck of the advowson of its prebendal churches, bearing date June 10, 1284, it is described as the Church of Abergwili.[i] But in 1290 we find it still under the title of the Collegiate Church of Llangadoc,[j] which it probably preserved as a formal designation for some time after its actual removal. At that time the church of Llangyfelach in Gower was appropriated

[z] Pat. 3 Ed. III. p. 1, m. 8; per Inspeximus:—printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, VI. p. 1332.

[a] *Ibid.*

[b] A somewhat different list of the prebends is given in the statute of Bishop Gower, 1331; another in Bacon's *Liber Regis*, p. 994: and the present list differs slightly from all. A schedule of the endowments is given in Sir T. Phillips' *Wales*, p. 373. The number of stalls has been increased by that of Llandrindod, added before the removal to Brecon.—*Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.*; IV. p. 406.

[c] Llandilo-Graban. [d] Clyro. [e] Boughrood. [f] Llanddarog. [g] Llandysilio.

[h] Leland, Itin. V. fol. 23. [i] Lib. Stat. pp. 190–194. [j] *Ibid.* pp. 102, 139.

to the Bishop, as Dean, and to his Vicars in the College.[k] We have seen that the canons were not bound to perpetual residence, and it would seem that their practice had degenerated into considerable laxity in this respect even in the course of half a century. For in 1331[l] the prebend of Llanfynydd was permanently annexed to the precentorship, which was not connected previously with any particular stall;[m] and two new officers were founded, obliged like the Precentor to continual residence, upon pain of forfeiting their profits to the canons resident, viz., a Chancellor and a Treasurer, to the former of whom was assigned the prebend of Llanbister, to the latter that of Llangammarch, both, it will be remembered, in the number of the sub-diaconal endowments. The annexation of Llanfynydd was to take place at once, and that of the other two stalls on their next avoidance.[n] The Precentor[o] retained his portion of Llangadoc."[p]

The other was established at Llanddewi-Brefi, in Cardiganshire, the site of the legendary synod in which St. David confuted the Pelagians. This foundation was erected in 1287.[q] To these foundations we must add that of a Hospital at Llawhaden, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St. Thomas, and St. Edward; to which the Bishop appropriated the Church of Llanycefn in Pembrokeshire,[r]

and Llanddewi-Brefi.

[k] Lib. Stat. pp. 102, 139.

[l] This is the date of the statute, which was confirmed by the Chapter of St. David's in 1334.

[m] In 1331 the Precentor, Stephen West, held the stall of Llanelwydd.

[n] Pat. 49 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 22; per Inspex.—*Monasticon*, VI. p. 1376.

[o] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 411.

[p] Christ's College, Brecon, &c., by one of the Authors, pp. 4–7.

[q] The establishment consisted of the Bishop, who was to act as Dean, a Precentor, and twelve other canons, four from each of the superior Orders. Each canon was to have his vicar, and there were to be choristers. The tithes of the parish were appropriate to the college, and allotted in exactly the same manner as those of Llangadoc. The canons had also the following separate endowments:—

Priests (including the Precentor)	*Deacons*	*Subdeacons*
1 Llangyby	1 Llanwenog	1 Llanybeudy
2 Trefeglwys	2 Blaenporth	2 Trelech ar Bettws
3 Llanfihangel Ystrad	3 Bettws	3 Llanarth
4 Llanerchaeron	4 Llanbadarn Odwyn	4 Tregaron
5 Carrog		

—*Lib. Stat.* pp. 97–101. The prebend of Llanarth was subsequently annexed to the Bishopric, forming the decanal endowment (*Ibid.* pp. 101, 2), and the church of Llanfair Clydogau was appropriate to the Precentorship.—*Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.* p. 395.

[r] Lib. Stat. pp. 103–105.

and which was subsequently annexed to the Cathedral by Bishop John Morgan, as an additional endowment for the choristers.[s] It is due to the founder to say that it was also endowed with lands which he had himself purchased. Probably his private means considerably exceeded those of his predecessors, as he had held offices which must have placed, directly or indirectly, considerable funds at his disposal. A fact recorded of him in the *Welsh Chronicle* is not without importance. In this it is stated that Bishop Beck sang a mass at Strata Florida, and this was the first mass sung in the diocese.[t] We must probably limit the meaning of this expression to the introduction of a more florid style of music than had been usual hitherto; and it is not impossible that the desire of introducing a more gorgeous ritual into a country, then probably as now remarkable for the contrary extreme, may have been one of the motives which produced the Collegiate Churches of Llangadoc and Llanddewi.

Bishop David Martyn;

Beck died in 1293, and was succeeded by David Martyn, otherwise known as David of St. Edmund's,[u] of whose personal history little is known, further than that he had been, like his predecessor, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.[v] We have already had occasion to refer to him as a benefactor to the Cathedral, to the fabric of which he added one of its most striking features.[w]

Bishop Henry Gower;

In this point of view, however, the name of his successor, Henry Gower, must be much more familiar to our readers. Mention has been made in its place of his alterations in the fabric of the Cathedral,[x] of the consummate taste displayed in his Palace,[y] and in particular of the peculiar local form of the Decorated style of which he must be regarded as the originator.[z] It will be seen hereafter that he was not less diligent in regulating and consolidating the foundation over which he presided. He founded a Hospital at Swansea, which he endowed with lands, and therefore probably out of his private income.[a] From that and his other works at Swansea, from his surname, and from a hint given us by Leland,[b] their can be no doubt that he was a native of that town or its neighbourhood. Of this eminent man, who has left on the whole more extensive traces of his mind at St. David's, than any bishop who has occupied

[s] Lib. Stat. pp. 223–225.
[t] Myv. Arch. II. p. 466.
[u] Chron. Wikes; Gale Scr. XV. p. 126.
[v] Men. Sac. I. p. 50.
[w] See above, p. 155.
[x] See above, pp. 157–161.
[y] *Ibid.* pp. 190–204.
[z] *Ibid.* pp. 203–207.
[a] Lib. Stat. pp. 163–166.
[b] Leland, Coll. I. p. 415.

the see either before or since, we have unfortunately very little to record. Like his predecessor he held the post of Chancellor of Oxford previously to his consecration,[c] and he is further stated although on somewhat doubtful authority to have attained to the more exalted station of Lord High Chancellor of England.[d] Gower held the bishopric from 1328 to 1347.[e] His successor, John Thoresby, had received the custody of the Great Seal[f] and held the office of Master of the Rolls,[g] and in the second year of his consecration was promoted to that of Lord Chancellor.[h] In 1349 he was translated to Worcester, and was succeeded by Reginald Brian, who, on the elevation of Thoresby to the see of York in 1352, succeeded him in that of Worcester.[i] Thoresby is stated on doubtful authority to have arrived ultimately at the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of St. John and St. Peter ad Vincula.[j] Of Brian little more is known, and the remaining part of Thoresby's biography belongs to the history of York. Thomas Fastolf, who enjoyed the bishopric from 1353 to 1361,[k] appears to have been in no way distinguished.

Bishop John Thoresby;

Bishop Reginald Brian;

Bishop Thomas Fastolf;

Adam Houghton, whose elevation to the see occurred in 1361, is said traditionally to have been a native of Dewisland,[l] although his name sufficiently proves that he was of English or Norman origin. He held the office of Lord Chancellor,[m] and was on one occasion a member of a Royal Commission appointed to settle certain disputes in the University of Oxford.[n] He appears in the statute-book of the Cathedral as one of its most diligent legislators, and the first establishment of the Cathedral School and endowment of the choristers is due to him.[o] We have seen that only a very inconsiderable part of the church itself can be referred to this date; but the magnificent College or Chantry of St. Mary, which may almost be regarded as a detached portion of the Cathedral, was built and endowed by Houghton, to whom we also owe the cloisters which form the connecting link between the Cathedral and the College. This foundation was so intimately

Bishop Adam Houghton;

Foundation of Choristers and Cathedral School,

of St. Mary's College,

[c] Rymer's Fœdera, II. p. 747.
[d] Leland, Coll. I. p. 415.
[e] Richardson's Godwin, p. 581.
[f] Rymer's Fœdera, II. p. 1231.
[g] Rymer's Fœdera, II. p. 1151.
[h] *Ibid.* III. p. 186. Ang. Sac. I. p. 535.
[i] *Ibid.*
[j] Richardson's Godwin, p. 687.
[k] Browne Willis, pp. 107, 8.
[l] *Ibid.* p. 108.
[m] Rymer's Fœdera, III. p. 1069.
[n] *Ibid.* p. 1055.
[o] Lib. Stat. pp. 137, 138.

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connected with that of the Cathedral itself that we have reserved an account of it until we come to treat of the history of the Chapter, upon which it was in some measure dependent. Further, Mr. Fenton ascribes to him the erection of the Vicars' College, and the donation of a site for the purpose.[r] We are not in a position to combat the latter statement, still less are we prepared to confirm it. The former one, however, is extremely probable, as Houghton for the first time (so far as we know) absolutely required the vicars to live together.[s]

and of Vicars' College (?);

There is a curious story of his having been excommunicated by Pope Clement VI., and having excommunicated the Pontiff in turn. This history is said to have been represented in the painted windows of the College Chapel.[t] What may have been actually depicted there it is impossible now to say; but it is very likely that the legend was invented to account for a representation otherwise inexplicable. On the other hand it is possible that the Pontiff intended was the Anti-Pope Robert of Geneva, who reigned at Avignon, 1378–94, as Clement VII. This supposition would at once render the story intelligible, and get rid of the chronological difficulty stated in the note. Houghton died in 1388,[u] and Richard Mitford, who was nominated to be his successor, was set aside by the Pope[v] and afterwards became Bishop of Chichester and Salisbury successively.[w]

Bishop John Gilbert:

After a vacancy of more than a year, John Gilbert, a Dominican Friar, Bishop of Hereford, previously of Bangor, and formerly Lord Treasurer of England,[x] was appointed to the see, shortly after which he became Treasurer for the second time.[y] During the interval between his first and second acceptance of that office, he was appointed one of twelve commissioners to govern the kingdom in the name of Richard II.[z] In his own Cathedral he appears as an active reformer, and the first codification of the various ordinances by which

[r] Fenton, p. 96.

[s] See above, p. 217.

[t] "In a MS in Queen Elizab: Time I find this acc[t] of Him, that He was a great ambassador in Edw[d] 3[d]'s Reign & that

"'Hic a Papa Clement 6 excommunicatus fuit, & postea Ipsum Papam excommunicavit ut in Fenestris Vitriis ejusdem Collegii ejusque picturas ostenditur, ac etiam ejusdem Tumba Inscrip. ut apparebit. Hic pius Antistes natus atq[ꝫ] educatus fuit infra Parochiam Menevens in loco vocato Caervorya.'

"Query if what is in this MS is not a mistake; for the Chronology is wrong, as the Pope, Clem[t] 6, who died bef[e] the other was B[p]."—*Browne Willis*, p. 108; MS. additions.

[u] Richardson's Godwin, p. 582.

[v] Richardson's Godwin, p. 508.

[w] Browne Willis, p. 109.

[x] *Ibid.* p. 489.

[y] *Ibid.* p. 582.

[z] Men. Sac. I. p. 56.

it was governed, took place in his time.[a] Guy de Mone succeeded in 1397, and held the see for ten years, during which he was twice Lord Treasurer, and that under two successive monarchs.[b] He had been keeper of the Privy Seal.[c] He was also one of the representatives of the English Church at the Council of Pisa,[d] and was succeeded in that capacity[e] as well as in the see of St. David's by Henry Chicheley, better known as Archbishop of Canterbury, to which see he was promoted in 1414,[f] and as the founder of All Souls' and St. Bernard's Colleges in Oxford, and the Collegiate Church of Higham Ferrers. It is unnecessary to enter into the biography of a person whose history is so well known, and whose celebrity chiefly belongs to other places. We shall therefore content ourselves with quoting the quaint eulogium of Browne Willis: "He was the most worthy Prelate of his Time; and his Benefactions in founding All-Souls College, and other singular good Works related in his Life, wrote by Dr. Arthur Duck, &c. will deservedly eternize him."[g]

Bishop Guy de Mone; Bishop Henry Chicheley.

The second era closes with the translation of Chicheley. Of the ten prelates included in it one is said to have been a Cardinal, two became Archbishops; two, perhaps three, held the office of Lord Chancellor, three that of Lord Treasurer, two of them more than once; three were keepers of the Privy Seal, one was Master of the Rolls; three were Chancellors of the University of Oxford. All but two held distinguished civil positions of one kind or another; most of them are among the principal benefactors of their church and diocese; more than one have a historical reputation. It is evident that the see, from some cause or other, was regarded as one of the highest ecclesiastical positions in the realm; and it would seem, among other things, that its endowments had considerably increased in value since the time that Giraldus regarded it as unworthy of his acceptance in a pecuniary point of view,[h] and even since the days of Thomas Wallensis, when it was considered, according to Browne Willis, "a miserable poor thing."[i] This supposition is confirmed by the fact of Bishop Gilbert's translation hither from Bangor and Hereford. During the same period, two translations only took place from St. David's to any suffragan

Contrast between the Second,

[a] Lib. Stat. p. 213. [b] Richardson's Godwin, p. 582. [c] *Ibid.*
[d] Men. Sac. I. p. 57. [e] Richardson's Godwin, p. 126. [f] Ang. Sac. I. p. 122.
[g] Browne Willis, p. 110. [h] Ang. Sac. II. p. 527. [i] Browne Willis, p. 104.

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see, and one of those was occasioned by the removal of a prelate, previously translated thence, to an archbishopric.

and Third Era.

The ten episcopates which we have just enumerated extend over a period of 134 years: during the next 122 years, not less than fourteen bishops held the see in succession. One of these was translated to it; and four were translated hence to other places; three or four more enjoyed it for so extremely short a period, that we must conclude some of them to have been appointed in extreme old age. Among these was the only one who ever acquired any general celebrity, which was earned previously to and quite independently of his connexion with the diocese. We speak of the great canonist Lyndwood. Of the rest. Richard Martin was, previously to his consecration, Chancellor of Ireland and Ambassador to France[j] and Spain;[k] John Delabere and Richard Rawlins were Lords Almoners;[l] Thomas Rodburne was Chancellor of Oxford,[m] John Langton Chancellor of Cambridge,[n] and John Catterick one of the representatives at the Council of Constance.[o] None of them, except Martin, ever attained to high secular offices, none of them can be classed with Beck, Gower, Thoresby, Houghton, and Chicheley. Nor was their internal rule much more remarkable. The ordinances for the government of the Cathedral which bear their names were few in number, and, if we except the augmentation of the number and endowment of the choristers by Bishop Morgan, of inconsiderable importance. It has been shown that the architectural works of this era, of the latter part of it at least, were very extensive, but with two, or at the most three, important exceptions, they added little to the beauty of the Cathedral in detail, and probably detracted a good deal from its general effect. Finally it must be noticed that it is on record of one at least among them that he never saw his see;[p] and we may probably interpret the statement to mean that he was never in his diocese; while another lived almost wholly on his English patrimony, and committed the care of his diocese to an Irish bishop.[q] We can do no more than point out the contrast between this and the preceding era, as we have already indicated that existing between the latter and the one which went before it. To explain either is beyond our power. We have already intimated

[j] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584. [k] Browne Willis, p. 115. [l] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584.
[m] *Ibid.* p. 583. [n] *Ibid.* [o] Ang. Sac. I. p. 452, *Note.*
[p] Leland, Coll. II. p. 324. [q] Browne Willis, p. 112; MS. additions.

our belief that the see advanced in wealth towards the close of the thirteenth century; it must certainly have declined in public estimation about the beginning of the fifteenth. One fact only we will notice as a curious coincidence, without attempting to trace any connexion between it and a problem which we confess ourselves unable to solve. The transition from the first to the second era nearly synchronizes with the final subjugation of the Principality by Edward I.; while the third commences soon after the complete degradation of the Welsh people in consequence of the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr, which lasted until their emancipation in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII. We pass on to a brief notice of the individual bishops.

Third Era, 1415–1523: Bishops John Catterick, Stephen Patrington, Benedict Nicholls, Thomas Rodbourne, William Lyndwood, and John Langton;

The first on the list is John Catterick, who was translated in less than a year to Lichfield and Coventry, and thence to Exeter.[r] Stephen Patrington, his successor, consecrated in 1415, was translated in 1417 to Chichester,[s] but did not live to take possession of his new see. Benedict Nicholls Bishop of Bangor succeeded him, and retained the see until his death in 1433.[t] Thomas Rodbourne held the see from 1433 till 1442,[u] and was succeeded by William Lyndwood, to whose celebrity as a canonist we have already alluded.[v] John Langton succeeded in 1447, but survived his consecration for no more than a fortnight.[w]

Bishop John Delabere;

His successor John Delabere, says Leland, as cited by Browne Willis, "notwithstanding he was made Bishop of St. David's, never saw it, but committed the Care of his Bishoprick to one Griffin Nicolas, Son to Richard Fitz-Thomas, a stout knight."[x] There is a trifling inaccuracy in the statement. Gruffydd ap Nicolas, who is the subject of this somewhat grotesque description, was not son but father of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.[y] If all that is reported of Delabere be true, his derelictions were by no means altogether of a negative kind,[z] so that it may have been altogether as well that he resided in Oxfordshire, where he earned considerable reputation as a pious benefactor by building Dorchester bridge.[a]

Bishop Robert Tully;

Both he and his successor Robert Tully, who was consecrated in 1460,[b] appear to have suffered from the political troubles of the

[r] Richardson's Godwin, p. 582. [s] *Ibid.* [t] *Ibid.* p. 583. [u] *Ibid.*
[v] *Ibid.* p. 583. [w] *Ibid.* [x] Browne Willis, p. 113.
[y] Lewys Dwnn, I. p. 131. [z] Hearne's Hemingford, pp. 521, 2.
[a] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584; Addington's Hist. of Dorchester, p. 135.
[b] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584.

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time. Delabere was deposed or forced to resign his see;[c] and Tully, who held it for twelve years, was never in possession of its temporalities.[d] Richard Martin, who was appointed in 1482, and survived his consecration for less than a year,[e] has been noticed as having held more important secular offices than any of the other bishops of this era. But these were before his elevation to the see, which was probably the reward of past services, as well as a pledge of the personal regard of Edward IV. which he is said to have enjoyed in a remarkable degree.[f] We have assigned to Bishops Tully and Martin a good deal of the later work in the Cathedral; the former indeed, who had evidently a strong taste for the architectural style of his day, has been mentioned as contributing to the work from his own resources,[g] which must have been considerably crippled by the arbitrary act of the king.

Bishop Richard Martin;

Bishop Thomas Langton;

Thomas Langton, more eminent personally than any prelate since Chicheley, retained the see for so short a time that the greater part of his history belongs to those of Salisbury and Winchester, to which he was translated in succession. He was Bishop of St. David's from 1483 to 1485.[h] Of his successor Hugh Pavy we know nothing worth recording. John Morgan, who succeeded him in 1496,[i] appears as a benefactor to the choristers, whose number he increased.[j] He is more important as the first bishop of Welsh lineage probably since Iorwerth, and certainly since Thomas Wallensis. The fact of his appointment to the see, and that of Edward Vaughan, who followed his immediate successor, shows that national differences in Wales had now virtually given way to distinctions of class, and that the better Welsh families were beginning to hold a co-ordinate position with those of the rest of the kingdom. It is true that their political disqualifications were not wholly removed till a somewhat later period, but their social position must have been considerably ameliorated by the extraordinary advancement of the Tudor family. Morgan died in 1504.[k] His successor Robert Sherborne was translated to Chichester in 1508.[l]

Bishop Hugh Pavy;

Bishop John Morgan;

Bishop Robert Sherborne;

Bishop Edward Vaughan;

Edward Vaughan was consecrated in 1509, and retained the see until his death, which occurred in 1522.[m] We know little of his personal history, but he

[c] Rymer's Fœdera, V. (Ed. 1741,) ii. p. 103.
[d] Leland, Coll. I. p. 324.
[e] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584.
[f] Browne Willis, p. 115.
[g] See above, p. 163.
[h] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584.
[i] *Ibid.*
[j] Lib. Stat. pp. 223–225.
[k] Richardson's Godwin, p. 584.
[l] *Ibid.* p. 585.
[m] *Ibid.*

has left traces of his activity of mind, which justify the assertion of Browne Willis that "he was a most publick-spirited Man."[n] This remark is made in reference to his liberality as Treasurer of St. Paul's, in building a house for his successors in the stall, and to his profuse munificence on an occasion of general distress. We have spoken already of the beautiful chapel which bears his name, and of the roofs of the Lady Chapel and its ante-chapel, which are also his work. That of the nave we have shown to belong in all probability to his period. Perhaps the porch (as it appears at present) and the upper stage of the tower may be attributed to him, though neither would confer immortality on his taste in architecture.[o] To these we have to add, on the authority of Leland, St. Justinian's Chapel, the Chapel of Llawhaden Castle, together with general repairs at the same place, and a great barn, now destroyed, at Lamphey.[p] From internal evidence we can hardly hesitate to assign to him the chapel at Lamphey, which has a remarkable likeness to some of his known work at St. David's. "In his time," says Yardley, "Mr. John Norman a Skilfull & Learned Musician was Organist & Master of y^e^ Choristers."[q] We may perhaps infer from this statement that this period witnessed a brief revival of activity in the Cathedral, in more respects than one. Upon these grounds we have no scruple in assigning to Bishop Vaughan the most prominent place among the prelates who occupied the see of St. David's during the closing days of the ante-Reformation era. The second period of our history ends with Richard Rawlins, who was consecrated in 1523 and died in 1536.[r] We know little of his history. He appears to have been a courtier; he accompanied Henry VIII. in the French war; and became Lord Almoner in 1514 on the promotion of Wolsey to York. The account of his advancement is curious enough. "In 1521 he was deprived of his wardenship of Mert. Coll. by the archb. of Canterbury, for many unworthy misdemeanors . . . . and soon after, because he should not be a loser, had the bishoprick of S. David conferr'd upon him, about the beginning of the year 1523."[s]

Bishop Richard Rawlins.

From this brief sketch of the history of the See from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, we turn to the gradual development of the Chapter, and

History of Chapter and Endowments:

[n] Browne Willis, p. 118.
[o] See above, pp. 164–168.
[p] Leland's Coll. I. p. 324.
[q] Men. Sac. I. p. 72.
[r] Richardson's Godwin, p. 585.
[s] Athenæ Oxonienses, I. p. 671.

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the foundation and endowment of its several offices up to the period of the Reformation.

Constitution of the Chapter before Bernard;

We have already described what may be conceived to have been the primitive condition of the establishment founded by St. David at Mynyw.[t] Beyond the fact that it is spoken of as a monastery, by a writer of the ninth century,[u] we have no further evidence bearing on its constitution before the period of the Norman Conquest. Bernard, the first foreign bishop, found the Cathedral, as may be inferred from the words of Giraldus,[v] without any organized internal government. The clergy attached to it, bore the simple title of Ecclesiastics, and their number seems to have been quite undefined. They were probably the legitimate successors of the monks first planted there by their founder; but it is evident that their manners had relaxed considerably from primitive asceticism.[w] Whether the offices which seem to have existed in the original foundation continued until this time there is no evidence to show; but as there were no dignities in the Chapter as re-constituted by Bernard, except the four Archdeaconries, and as these are not ascribed to that prelate, it is probable that the archdeacons held, under the Bishop, the principal position in the Cathedral before, as they did long after, his time.[x] Bernard, desirous of sub-

[t] See above, p. 255.

[u] See above, p. 251, *Note*.

[v] "Menevensem enim Ecclesiam rudem hic prorsus & inordinatam invenit. Clerici namque loci illius, qui Glaswir, id est viri Ecclesiastici, vocabantur, barbaris ritibus absque ordine & regulâ Ecclesiæ bonis enormiter incumbebant. Canonicos hic igitur primus instituit, & Canonicas, quamquam miseras nimis & minutas, utpote plus militaris in multis quam Clericalis existens, ordinavit. Totum namque Cantaredum de Pepidiauc, quem Menevensi Ecclesiæ devota Principum Sudwalliæ largitione collatum invenit, sicut & alias terras plurimas, Comitibus, Baronibus, nobilibusque patriæ viris, quatinus magnum sibi per Magnatum hominia dominationis nomen & famam compararet, minimâ Præbendis terrarum portiunculâ datâ, modicâque mensæ Pontificali portione retentâ, dicto quippe Translationis ambitu, vitioque pariter pompositatis adjuncto, malum hoc totum operante, nimis indiscrete divisit. Tempore quoque Bernardi ipsius terra de Fissigart Provinciæ de Pebidiauc fuit abjurata. Terræ quoque per Wilfridum alienatæ Meneviaque de Lanstadhewal & Sancto Ysmaele super Milverdici maris brachium non inamœna, per advenas & alienigenas occupata, minimè per ipsum aut etiam hactenus alium sunt revocata."—*Ang. Sac.* II. pp. 534, 5.

[w] See above, p. 273.

[x] "Papa quæsivit, utrum Decanum haberet Menevensis Ecclesia. Et cùm responderet Giraldus, quòd personas non habebat Ecclesia illa præter Archidiaconos IV." &c.—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 548. "Archidiaconi Menevenses et Canonici discretiores."—*Ibid.* p. 475. So again the Chapter nominate their four Archdeacons, for the king to select a bishop from.—*Ibid.* The

jecting the Cathedral clergy to more efficient control, or else of bringing them into conformity to the pattern exhibited by continental churches, estabished a fixed number of canonries, or, as we should now call them, prebends, which were probably maintained by given proportions of the revenues heretofore divided among an indefinite number. In order, however, to understand the system which prevailed subsequently to the time of Bernard, we must inquire what is known respecting the endowments of the Cathedral before his time; and it will be impossible to consider them apart from those of the See.

Original endowments of the See.

It has been stated that the Bishop was regarded from the beginning as the actual head of the Cathedral body, of which he was an integral part, and over which he possessed an internal, and not merely a visitatorial jurisdiction. Accordingly, as the Cathedral could not have had, originally, any endowments as distinct from the Bishop, so it is highly probable that the Bishop had none as distinct from the Cathedral. Unfortunately, the earliest notices which we possess of any particular endowments, are the records, not of their acquisition, but of their alienation by the bishops immediately preceding and subsequent to the Norman intrusion. Bishop Wilfrid, we are told, alienated Cenarthmawr in Emlyn, Llanrian, Lawrenny, Ucceton [?] and many other lands.[y] Bernard granted away in fiefs the whole Lordship of Dewisland, which had been consecrated to the see by the piety of the South Welsh Princes. And the demesne of Fishguard was separated from Dewisland, and became annexed to the lay Barony of Cemaes, of which it has ever since formed a portion. Under the same prelates the manors of Llanstadwell and St. Ishmael's were also lost to the see.[z] David Fitzgerald impoverished his church by subinfeu-

"seniores ecclesiæ" spoken of in the Life of David Fitzgerald (*Ibid.* p. 652) are evidently the older canons, who would probably be Welshmen, as it is evident that the persons there spoken of must have been.

[y] Ang. Sac. II. p. 534. It was probably this wholesale alienation which elicited from Pope Calixtus II. a confirmation of all its possessions to the church of St. David's, with an order to restore whatever had been taken from it.—*Lib. Stat.* pp. 105, 6.

[z] "Terras Ecclesiæ suæ plurimas infructuosè penitus & mutiliter alienavit. Alias verò tam improvide & tam indiscretè divisit; ut ubi militaribus officis X. terræ carucatas., XX. vel XXX. manu amplissimâ largiretur; ibi divinis Sanctique David obsequiis & Canonicis ab ipso miserè nimis & infœliciter institutis, vix duas vel tres impertiret. Unam tamen solam, quam et nepoti suo contulit, quia nemo carnem suam odio habuit, XX. carucatis terræ amplificavit: quæ postea

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dation.[a] Peter de Leià alienated the lands of Llangadoc,[b] and made grants of land at Llanddew, Llawhaden, Lamphey, and St. David's itself.[c] Geoffrey de Henelawe made grants of the episcopal manor of Llanddewi in Gower,[d] Llandygwydd, Llangyfelach, Llangadoc, and Trallwng, together with the prebend lands of Brawdy in Dewisland.[e] None of these endowments are spoken of as recent acquisitions of the see, and at such a time it is very unlikely that they should have been so. But it may be questioned, and it is a question for the solution of which we unfortunately possess no data, whether these ample endowments were designed originally for the support of the bishops alone, or whether, prior to the intrusion of foreign prelates, they held them in common with the other clergy of the Cathedral church. However this may be, it is quite clear that they were regarded afterwards as a separate endowment, although the Bishop received a certain share of the revenues of the Cathedral.

perhaps held by the Bishop and Chapter in common;

Original endowment of the Cathedral, Tithes of St. David's and Whitchurch;

The original endowment of the Cathedral appears to have consisted of the tithes of St. David's and the adjoining parish of Whitchurch. This was divided, at least in later times, into a certain number of shares, or prebends, one or more of which was assigned to the several officers of the Cathedral church. Probably this division was the work of Bernard, and is the measure described by Giraldus as the institution of canonries. On the other hand it must be confessed that the words of our historian would seem more applicable to the separate endowment of particular stalls. "The canonries," he says, "which were instituted by Bernard were miserably poor. For he was more

quidem, ut supra diximus, perjurio pariter & dicto collirio cooperantibus, in militares & laicales feodos Præbendâ spoliatâ, sunt conversæ."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 534. See above, p. 310, *Note.*

[a] *Ibid.* p. 652.

[b] "Terram de Lancadauc cum molendino."—*Ibid.* p. 538. This was restored.—*Ibid.*

[c] "Terras etiam mensæ suæ dominicas & proprias, non steriles aut remotas, sed fertiles magis ac propinquas, tam de Landu sc. quam de Lanwadein servientibus suis Anglicis dedit. Terram quoque mensalem Manerii de Lantefei propter argentum Anglicum malè mutilavit et detrectavit. Terram etiam Dominicam apud Meneviam, Sedem sc. suam, ... propter aurum Hibernicum malè rutilans & resplendens ferè totam adnichilavit."—*Ibid.*

[d] "Gutturnoso de Keirmerthin gurgulioni Episcopale manerium de Landewi apud Goer sibi & successoribus suis perpetuò collatum et confirmatum; item ventricosæ de Landu beluæ contra spem omnium, quoniam in omnibus indignissimæ, Præbendam Meneviæ. Postea . . . . . Archileviticam contulit eidem dignitatem."—*Ibid.* p. 617. See also p. 619.

[e] *Ibid.* pp. 526, 527, 619.

knightly than clerkly, and granted away the whole hundred of Dewisland to great men."[f]

The mode in which this distribution of the tithes was effected was very remarkable. The parish of St. David's was divided into three, and subsequently into four Cylchs, or "Circles."[g] The parish of Whitchurch was regarded as a fourth or fifth. The whole tithe of the two parishes was divided into prebends, of which a certain number were charged upon each Cylch. Six of these prebends were assigned to the Bishop, and one to each of the canons; but it was arranged that the portion allotted to each canon should be charged upon the tithes of different Cylchs in succeeding years,—except in the case of the Archdeacon of Cardigan,—whose prebend always remained fixed upon the Cylch Gwaelod-o-Wlâd.[h] Cylchs;

We have assumed that this arrangement, which is altogether immemorial, is as old as Bernard, and possibly of his devising. These portions of the tithes of St. David's and Whitchurch, may in that case be regarded as the original endowment of each several stall. At a time when the payment of tithes was necessarily made in kind, this must have been a simpler and more equitable mode of allotting the produce, than could have been attained by dividing the whole into so large a number of portions. The Cylchs were doubtless divided with reference to the average amount of their several produce; and the plan of causing the prebends to circulate from Cylch to Cylch, would obviate the unfairness arising from any temporary superiority in one of those districts. A new arrangement was made in the time of Bishop Fastolf (1358), when each Cylch was divided into portions, for the tithes of which the canons drew lots.—Cylch Mawr and Whitchurch constituting five portions each, and the two remaining Cylchs six each.[i] Upon what principle the prebend of the Archdeacon of Cardigan remained stationary, it is not easy to see. It was probably from this circulating system that the divisions of the parish derived their name of Cylchs, and the portions of their produce were called *Cursal* Prebends. Of the original number of these prebends we have no certain account. In later times we find twenty-two,[j] and later still twenty-four, of which six were assigned to the Bishop, and the remaining ones were distributed among as many canons. Cursal Prebends:

[f] See above, p. 310, *Note.*
[g] See above, p. 9.
[h] Lib. Stat. p. 33.
[i] *Ibid.* p. 46.
[j] *Ibid.* p. 46.

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But it appears from the words of Giraldus that at the close of the twelfth century eight canons formed an absolute majority of the Chapter,[k] the whole number of which therefore, exclusive of the Bishop, cannot have exceeded fifteen. It is not unlikely that this may have been the full number, the Bishop making the sixteenth.

Endowment of particular stalls;

It may be presumed that the amount of each prebend was sufficiently small. One small fraction of the tithes of two parishes, of which one only is of large extent, and neither is wealthy, cannot have formed a very splendid endowment for a Cathedral dignitary. And hence, doubtless, arose the necessity for attaching a corps, a separate endowment, that is, of land or tithes, to each several stall.[l] At what time this was effected it is impossible to say. In all probability the process was a gradual one.[m] The church of Mathrey, which now constitutes what is called the Golden Prebend, had become prebendal before the time of Giraldus; but it appears in those days to have been attached to the Archdeaconry of Brecon.[n] Other prebends, too, existed, as that of Brawdy, which was made a Knight's fee by Geoffrey de Henelawe,[o] and was

[k] Ang. Sac. II. p. 561.

[l] The prebends possessing corpses are, besides the three dignities to be mentioned hereafter,—

The Archdeaconry of St. David's,				endowed with tithes of Mydrim
„	Brecon,	„	„	Llanfaes, Llowes, Llanddew and Llanstephan, lands of Torbant in Llanrian parish.
„	Caermarthen,	„	„	Llanrian, lands of Cruglas in St. David's parish, and lands near Caermarthen.
„	Cardigan,	„	„	Llandyfriog.

The prebend of Mathrey, called the Golden Prebend,—Tithes of Mathrey, and Manor of Cilhwch Graig, with other lands there.

„ St. Nicholas,—Tithes of St. Nicholas, and farm of Mynydd Du.

„ Llanddewi-Aberarth,—Tithes of Llanddewi.

„ Llangan,—Two-thirds of the tithes of Llangan.

„ Clydey,—Tithes of Clydey.

„ Treflodyn, „ Caerfai, —No endowment left.

„ Caerfarchell,—Farm and mesne manor of Caerfarchell, near St. David's.

[m] The antiquity of the separate endowments is shown by a confirmation of them by Bishop Thoresby (1348) in which they are described as immemorial.—*Lib. Stat.* p. 200.

[n] Ang. Sac. II. p 609.

[o] *Ibid.* p. 619.

afterwards devoted to other ecclesiastical uses[p]—and that of Llanwnda,[q] which was afterwards part of the common property of the Chapter.[r] Of the entire number, six stalls have never been endowed with separate corpses, and of the remainder, those of Caerfai and Treflodyn, although their names indicate that they once possessed such endowments, have now lost them.[s] The six unendowed stalls are distinguished by the title of Cursals, which is in fact equally applicable to all the rest. This is also the case in the Cathedral of St. Asaph, where the occupants of the seven stalls which have no special endowment, are designated Cursal Canons by virtue of a certain payment which they receive, in common with the other members of the Chapter, out of the tithes of Rhuddlan and Llansilin.[t]

Additional endowments of the Chapter;

Nor was it in this way only that the value of the canonries was augmented. The revenues of the entire body were increased in two ways. In the first place, it was found necessary to relieve the Cathedral clergy of the burdens imposed upon them by the duty of maintaining the fabric and services of the church,—burdens which must have grown continually heavier, in proportion as the latter increased in splendour and costliness. Accordingly grants were made from time to time, for the special purpose of supporting divine service in the Cathedral Church, or for keeping up the fabric of the church itself. Probably the earliest augmentation of its revenues which the Chapter received were those which are immemorial, viz., the church of St. Edeyrn's, adjoining Whitchurch,

[p] It was attached to the episcopal endowments ("mensa episcopalis") by Thomas Wallensis (*Lib. Stat.* p. 132), and confirmed to Bishop Thoresby for life by Pat. 22, E. 3, p. 1, m. 28.

[q] Ang. Sac. II. p. 482.

[r] Lib. Stat. 64, 65.

[s] As early as 1263 we find an ordinance directed against the custom of granting leases of the prebendal lands, from which the church has suffered so much in later times: "Ad hæc quia pericula innumera orta st in Eccl'ia Menev. ex tradiõne terrarũ Prebendaliũ ad firmã primo patribus, secundo filijs aut nepotibus per iniquam successionem quæ vulgo Esta dicitur: statuit Epũs de consensu Capituli sui quod a modo nulla terra Prebendalis ad firmã alicui ratione successionis suspecto tradatur. Et si traditur alicui non suspecto, hoc fiat per caũionem et terminos paucos ad vitandam alienãonem."—*Lib. Stat.* p. 20. This appears to be levelled especially against the relics of that system of succession, of which Giraldus complains so loudly. But in 1290 it is ordered that no canon sell the fruits of his prebend beforehand, lest his vicar be defrauded of his stipend.—(*Ibid.* pp. 10, 139.) Subsequently, we find an order that the canons' lands might be let for five years to any canon, to encourage improvement.—(*Ibid.* p. 27.) But leave was given by Bishop Gilbert to let benefices, whether to clerks or laymen.—*Ibid.* p. 211.

[t] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 436.

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what are called the "Spur Tithes" at Trevine, and the lands of Bryn-pant-gwyn, in the parish of Cilycwm, Caermarthenshire. The church of Llywel was granted by Bishop Iorwerth,[u] that of Llanwnda by Bishop Anselm,[v] those of Jeffreyston and St. Issel's by the Abbey of Seez in Normandy, apparently in the thirteenth century,[w] those of Llanhowel and Llandeloy were appropriated in 1302, and the maintenance of the Wogan chantry charged upon them;[x] Uzmaston was appropriated by David Martyn in 1301 to the fabric;[y] Knelston was appropriated first to the support of the Palace, and afterwards to that of the Close wall by Houghton in 1375;[z] Llanwnen was appropriated by the same bishop for the support of the choristers in 1383.[a] The Chapter also received a fixed sum in annual pensions, some of which were claimed as late as 1680.[b] Before the Reformation all these endowments seem to have been regarded as the common property of the canons.[c]

Distinction between residents and non-residents,

Another kind of endowment grew out of the practice of non-residence. We may assume that the half-monastic clergy of the primitive Cathedral were all perpetually resident on the spot. In fact it can hardly be supposed that they had any revenues of a kind which could be applied to their support so long as they were absent from their church. It is probable that the change introduced by Bernard would render non-residence possible. By creating what was analogous to a dividend of the revenues, he enabled a part of the canons to receive their profits at a distance. And the small amount of the prebends made it almost necessary that they should be held in connexion with parochial benefices. Moreover, the means which were adopted to increase the emoluments of particular stalls, must have tended still further to relax the general obligation of residence. For it is evident that when the tithes of a church were appropriated to a prebendal stall, the prebendary was in the first instance regarded to a certain extent, though to what extent it is not easy to say, as the actual rector of the parish. Thus Giraldus, who held the prebendal churches of Mathrey and Llanwnda, performed his duty in them by chaplains,[d] or, as we should now

[u] Lib. Stat. p. 52.
[v] *Ibid.* p. 63.
[w] Lib. Stat. p. 65.
[x] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[y] *Ibid.* p. 60.
[z] See above, p. 100.
[a] *Ibid.* p. 40.
[b] Reg. G. p. 57.
[c] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 381.
[d] Ang. Sac. II. p. 566.

say, curates; and at Llanddew, which is appropriated to the Archdeaconry of Brecon, he had a house,[e] and occasionally resided. Some of the canons, too, would be pursuing their studies at the Universities or elsewhere.[f] Those who actually resided on the spot would be supposed to have earned a larger share of the emoluments of the Chapter. Accordingly lands and tithes were granted to it, for the special use of the residents, between whom the produce of these emoluments was equally divided.[g] The distinction between residents and non-residents first appears in 1259, when Richard de Carew granted Bugeildy, Nantmel, Llandovery,[h] St. Twinnel's, and Cilcenin[i] (since lost) to the canons resident. At the same time he confirmed to the residents the churches of St. Dogwell, Llandyssil, and Llanafan-fawr, said to have been granted to them by Anselm.[j] But it appears from a statute of Thomas Wallensis,[k] that the grant of St. Dogwell was originally made by Anselm to the whole body of the canons, and that it was limited subsequently to the residents. It is therefore probable that the destination of the churches mentioned together with it was similarly changed.[l] In 1290 Thomas Beck, gave Henfynyw,[m] and in 1306 David Martyn assigned Llandebie[n] and Llanrhystid,[o] to the residents. The temporalities of the Chapter, consisting of their mesne manor of Rossan, near St. David's, together with sundry pensions from other churches and ecclesiastical corporations, appear to have belonged to the residents.[p]

and endowment of the latter;

[e] Ang. Sac. II. p. 471.

[f] "Duos autem juvenculos Ecclesiæ suæ, quorum & alter Canonicus Menevenis erat, in partibus illis [*viz.* at St. Omer] Scolares inventos . . . . secum duxit."—*Ibid.* p. 509.

[g] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 381. [h] Lib. Stat. p. 2. [i] *Ibid.* p. 50.
[j] *Ibid.* p. 3. [k] *Ibid.* p. 52. [l] *Ibid.* p. 20.
[m] *Ibid.* p. 10. [n] *Ibid.* p. 58. [o] *Ibid.* p. 52.

[p] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 381. The following is a list of the pensions formerly paid to the Chapter:—

	£	s.	d.
From Abbey of Llanthony	0	10	0
„ Abbey of Gloucester	0	5	0
„ Abbey of Talley	4	0	0
„ Abbey of Whitland	1	2	0
„ Priory of Caermarthen	0	5	0
„ Priory of Cardigan	0	4	0
„ Church of Llanbadarn-fawr	0	18	0
„ St. Mary's College, out of Nevern	10	0	0
„ Castle Maurice	0	10	0
„ Roche	0	2	0
„ Llangathen	0	6	8

Origin of the Vicars;

The non-residence of the canons, necessitated the creation of a new order of clergy. It must be remembered that a canonry was by no means essentially a sinecure, but had laborious ritual duties attached to it. It was necessary to provide for the due performance of these; and therefore each canon was permitted to nominate a vicar, who, in later times at least, took actual and corporal possession of his principal's stall, which he occupied during his absence. Mention is made of vicars by Giraldus,[q] who speaks also of one Idenard, a Vice-Canon,[r] —a title which can scarcely mean anything else. In another place he makes mention of the "canons and clerks"[s] of St. David's, and it is probable that the latter term includes, although it may not refer exclusively to, the vicars. The original emoluments of this body probably consisted of payments made to each individual by his principal. These were regulated by a statute of Thomas Wallensis,[t] which ordains that every priest should have a stipend of 40s., every deacon one of two merks, and every sub-deacon one of 20s. In addition to this each vicar was to receive from his canon a gown of the value of 10s.[u] Traces of such payments still exists in the sum of £53 paid annually by the Chapter to the corporation of the vicars; a certain proportion of which is supposed to be charged upon each stall.[v] But in process of time the vicars were

Their incorporation, and endowment:

	£	s.	d.
From Llanybydder and Llanfihangel-orath	0	13	4
„ Oystermouth	0	2	0
„ Llandyssil	1	0	0
„ Trefgarn	0	8	0
„ Manorbeer	0	1	8
„ Trefeddyg at St. David's	0	5	0
„ Morfa	0	0	6
„ Kedvor	0	0	4
„ Chancellor, quitrent of manse	0	13	4
„ Treasurer, for wax	0	16	0

[q] Ang. Sac. II. p. 597. [r] *Ibid.* p. 508.
[s] "Canonicis & Clericis Menevensis Ecclesiæ."—*Ibid.* p. 569. [t] Lib. Stat. p. 5.
[u] *Ibid.* p. 37. It was provided, however, "de communiâ dictæ Eccl."
[v] Table of fees paid to vicars. 1680.

	£	s.	d.
Pro stallo Archini Menevensis	2	0	0
Pro stallo Archini Brecon	2	0	0
Pro stallo Prebendarii aurei	2	0	0
Pro stallo Preb Llandewy Aberarth	1	6	8
Pro stallo Preb Caervay	1	6	8
Pro stallo Preb Penytfoys	1	6	8

incorporated, and endowments were granted to the subordinate chapter thus constituted. Bishops Anselm and Richard de Carew are said to have appropriated two benefices to this body.[w] The small tithes of Llanreithan, of which exclusive mention is made in the statute of Thomas Wallensis just cited,[x] probably constituted the endowment of his predecessor Anselm. What was given by Richard de Carew, there is now no evidence to show; but the small tithes of St. David's, and two-thirds of those of Whitchurch, which also constitute a portion of their revenues, and were probably among the earliest, may be due to that Prelate. Certain lands at and near St. David's[y] are immemorial endowments. To these have been added the tithes of Manorowen in Pembrokeshire, with some lands near St. David's, by Bishop Gower;[z] some lands at St. David's by Walter de la Hulle;[a] and the church of Llansantfraid in Cardiganshire, by Bishop Pavy.[b] They also received pensions of £5 from the Archdeacon of Brecon, out of Llanfaes,[c] and £1 from the Archdeacon of St. David's.[d]

The canons being thus relieved in part from the duties of residence,[e] it is evident that two distinct classes would soon spring up in the Chapter, a class of habitual residents, and another class of habitual non-residents. The existence of such a distinction is implied by Giraldus,[f] whose language leads us to conclude

	£	s.	d.
Pro stallo Preb Treflodan	1	6	8
Pro stallo Preb Cliddey	1	6	8
Pro stallo Mri. Smyth	1	0	0
Pro stallo Mri. Lewis	1	0	0
Pro stallo Mri. Lloyd	1	0	0
Pro stallo Mri. Howells	1	0	0
Pro stallo Mri. Bevans	1	0	0
Pro stallo Domini Regis	1	0	0

—*Reg.* G. p. 93.

[w] Leland, Coll. I. p. 323.

[x] Lib. Stat. p. 37. They are there described as customary payments.

[y] Trepewit, Trefeddyg, Magwr Aidon, Vicars' Park, Parc-y-Twr, and other lands at St. David's.

[z] Lib. Stat. pp. 110–112. [a] *Ibid.* pp. 109, 110. [b] Coll. Men. I. p. 193, *Note.*

[c] Lib. Stat. p. 106. [d] *Ibid.* pp. 161, 2.

[e] The sinecurism of the canons appears to be taken for granted in a statute of Thomas Wallensis, which, in enforcing their residence, can find no better reason for it, than that they might *set the vicars a good example.—Lib. Stat.* p. 20.

[f] "Inter residentes solus."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 560.

that the younger and more active members of the Cathedral belonged, as might perhaps be anticipated, to the latter class.[g] When the residents were favoured by the application of particular revenues to their support, it became necessary to define what constituted residence; and accordingly we have a series of ordinances on the subject. The first of these is in 1263, the same which assigned, as we have stated above, their earliest special endowments to the residents. This required a continuous, or, if necessary, a divided residence of three quarters in each year, to entitle a canon to his dividend of the residents' fund.[h] It is evident from this that the duty of residence had been construed rather loosely, even in the case of those who professed to live at St. David's, and who received an augmented income in virtue of their doing so. It appears, however, to have shared the fate of most regulations which are too precise, and not sufficiently elastic. For a statute of Bishop Beck (1287) forbids canons who do not reside to receive the profits of residence, but at the same time leaves a considerable dispensing power in the hands of the Bishop and Chapter conjointly.[i] It also permits the absence of three canons, who were held to be keeping residence, while they were actually living with the Bishop. It will be remembered that the Bishop himself was not then as now systematically and necessarily absent from his see, so that the Cathedral would probably be deprived of its three canons only during a portion of the year. By a statute of Gower (1332) the number of these canons (here called "canonici collaterales") were reduced from three to two, and their fluctuating dividend of the residence-fund was commuted for a fixed annual payment of ten merks,[j] which was probably charged on the residence-fund. In 1392 this was reduced to six merks, and charged on the common fund of the Cathedral.[k] The statute of 1332 further relaxed the obligation of residence in the case of those Archdeacons and canons who had benefices in the diocese. It permitted them to receive the whole dividend, if they resided half the year continuously or collectively.[l] It appears from the wording of this ordinance, taken together with one which was framed ten years later,[m] that those who were living at St. David's during a portion

Definitions of residence;

Canonici Collaterales;

[g] "Procedentibus Canonicis & Clericis Menevensis Ecclesiæ, senibus etiam & valetudinariis, qui residentes jugiter esse solebant, ferè cunctis per violentiam venire compulsis."—*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 569.

[h] Lib. Stat. p. 20.

[i] *Ibid.* p. 12.

[j] *Ibid.* p. 27.

[k] *Ibid.* p. 207.

[l] *Ibid.* p. 28.

[m] *Ibid.* p. 25.

only of the prescribed time, received a share in proportion to the period of their residence.

In the mean time other changes had taken place in the constitution of the Chapter, by which the relations of the resident and non-resident canons were considerably affected. Of the number of which that body consisted, after the change introduced by Bernard, we have no direct means of judging. But we have conjectured that the entire number, including the Bishop, was sixteen at the end of the twelfth century.[n] Six stalls must therefore have been added in the course of the thirteenth, as the number which appears in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas is the same as at present.[o] The foundation of three of these, and those the most important, is recorded: of the remainder we know nothing.

Increase of the Chapter;

In 1224 Bishop Iorwerth established a Precentor, to regulate the choir according to the use of Sarum. This officer was to receive ten marks "de Decimis Præbendarũ et cõmune canonicorũ qui non fecerint continuã residentiam in dictâ Ecclesiâ, donec eidem provisum fuerit."[p] At the same time the prebends of Spital and Llandrudion were annexed to the office.[q] The sum of ten marks had been increased to fifteen before the year 1259, when Richard de Carew granted the manor of Trefgarn as a substitute for the fixed payment. But he was still to receive a dividend of the residents' fund, and was bound to perpetual residence.[r] The manor of Trefgarn and Llandrudion were withdrawn from the Precentor by Houghton, who gave him in exchange a charge of £20 upon Cilycwm.[s] But they were afterwards restored to the Precentor, who also received from Bishop Nicholls the great tithes of Lampeter-pont-Stephen.[t] These, with the Chanter's Hill and Chanter's Mead at St. David's, form the endowments of the office. He does not appear from the beginning to have taken precedence of the other canons by virtue of his office, as in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, already cited, the Precentor's prebend is placed low on the list, although it is of greater value than any, with the exception of the Treasurer's.[u]

Foundation of Precentorship;

[n] See above, p. 314.
[o] Taxatio Eccl. P. Nicolai, p. 391.
[p] Lib. Stat. p. 1.
[q] *Ibid.* p. 2.
[r] "Salvâ ei portione Cõmunicandorum in Eccl'ia sicut et uni de cæteris fratribus residentibus." —*Ibid.* p. 135.
[s] *Ibid.* p. 31.
[t] Coll. Men. I. p. 259.
[u] Taxatio Eccl. P. Nicolai, p. 391.

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Probably the canons are named there in order of seniority. However as early as 1345 we find mention made of the "Precentor and Chapter," in a way which implies that he had already assumed the presidency of that body, under the Bishop.[v]

Foundation of Stewardship, or

Another change was made in the foundation in 1253.[w] In order to avoid disputes concerning the distribution of the revenues of the church among the Bishop and canons, and to provide for the care of the chattels belonging to the Cathedral, Thomas Wallensis ordained that there should be a Treasurer or Steward.[x] He assigned for his support his own portion as a canon, so that the number of the canons should remain unchanged. By a subsequent statute it was provided that Master Peter, one of the existing canons, should act as

Treasurership,

Treasurer, until some one should be appointed permanently.[y] We are inclined to think that nobody ever was appointed, and that the duties continued to be discharged by one of the existing canons until 1287, when the Treasurership, properly speaking, was founded by Beck, and the prebend of Llanbadarn in Maelienydd was appropriated to it.[z] This endowment was lost before the Reformation.[a] The Treasurer received at that time the tithes of Llangranog and Llandysilio Gogo in Cardiganshire.

and Chancellorship;

In 1287, the year in which the Treasurership was permanently endowed, Beck instituted three more offices in the church. The most important of these, the Chancellorship, completed the foundation, as regarded the number of its capitular members. The foundation statute appears to imply that the number of resident canons was at that time very small.[b] The Chancellor appears to have been the chief executive officer of the Chapter, analogous in some respect to the Dean in our academical Colleges. He kept the common seal, administered oaths, and exercised discipline over the junior members of the church. At a later period educational functions were assigned to him, as in many other Cathedrals. Bishop Thoresby required him to read and expound Scripture publicly. This was in the year 1348.[c] The revenues of the office were derived

[v] Lib. Stat. p. 79.
[w] *Ibid.* p. 132.
[x] "Œconomus."
[y] Lib. Stat. p. 19.
[z] *Ibid.* p. 134.
[a] Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII.; IV. p. 382.
[b] Lib. Stat. p. 13.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 107.

from the prebend of Llawhaden, assigned to it by the founder,[d] and a small mesne-manor near St. David's. The three dignitaries received no cursals.

Other officers of the Chapter were unconnected with any particular stall. Their duties were altogether financial. The Steward has been mentioned already. Such, too, were the Proctors, whose functions it is not easy to distinguish from those of the official just mentioned. They were first appointed by Iorwerth, in 1224, being two in number, to receive rent, and transact the business of the canons.[e] It was ordered by Richard de Carew (1259)[f] that the office should be served by the canons in rotation. They were to receive the rents, and account for them twice a year. A special Proctor was to be sent to Ireland to recover arrears and alienated lands; from which it would appear that Irish property was even at that time in bad odour. It was ordered, however, by Gower, in 1332, that the Proctors should not be sent every year to Ireland;[g] but whether we are to regard this as a proof that the transmarine property of the Chapter was in a more satisfactory or a more hopeless state it does not appear. The Proctors were admitted to office upon oath,[h] and received each forty shillings out of the residents' fund.[i] They continued to be appointed after the Reformation.[j] By a statute of Bishop Beck (1287) a Provost was appointed to take care of the estates: he was to be assisted by two receivers for the rents, and two for the fabric fund.[k] We hear nothing more of him, unless he is the same as the officer entitled Supervisor of the Fabric in the fourteenth century, and Master of the Fabric in later times. This functionary was then, as now, annually elected,[l] and has now the general charge of the financial affairs of the Chapter.

Proctors;

Provost;

Master of the Fabric;

Simultaneously with his foundation of the Chancellorship, Bishop Beck instituted two offices in the College of Vicars Choral. It has been stated already that each of the vicars was regarded as the deputy of a particular canon.[m] The Bishop, as Dean, and the Precentor, occupying the principal

Subdean, or Bishop's Vicar, and Subchanter;

[d] Lib. Stat. p. 13. [e] *Ibid.* p. 1. [f] *Ibid.* p. 6.
[g] *Ibid.* p. 27. [h] *Ibid.* p. 23. [i] *Ibid.* p. 212.
[j] Reg. D. p. 20. [k] Lib. Stat. p. 11. [l] Lib. Comm. I. p. 1.
[m] It was particularly enjoined that the Precentor should nominate his Vicar, by a statute of David Martyn, in 1301.—*Lib. Stat.* p. 144.

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positions in the church, it was seemly that their representatives should take corresponding places among their brethren. Accordingly Beck established a Subdean and a Subchanter, to whom he assigned stalls in the choir, among those of the canons. The Subdean, otherwise called the Bishop's Vicar, sits on the Dean's side, and the Subchanter in the corresponding stall on the other side. To the former was assigned the church of "Villa Camerarii" in Dewisland, since lost: for the latter no present provision was made, but the church of Llanstinan was appropriated to the office by David Martyn in 1301.[m] Houghton assigned to the Subdean the task of instructing the choristers founded by him.[n] It appears from a list of members of the Cathedral, present at a metropolitan visitation of Archbishop Warham in 1504,[o] that the Subdean formerly took precedence of the Subchanter; but the latter officer is now regarded as head of the Lower Chapter, as the Precentor is the head of the Chapter itself. Beyond this, his special duties are now confined to the installation of prebendaries, in the absence of the Precentor, and giving out the day of the month and psalm in the service, the latter being evidently a relic of his functions as director of the choir.

Subsacrist;

Besides the Subdean and Subchanter, there was and is still a Vice-Treasurer, or Subsacrist, in the College of Vicars, who stands to the Treasurer in the same relation as the Subchanter did to the Precentor. He receives a stipend, but has neither a stall, nor any special endowment.

Communar;

Another office existed in the Cathedral, which although connected immediately with the Upper Chapter, was generally, and probably always, held by one of the vicars. We speak of the Communar, who acted as bursar and paymaster of the Chapter, and who was probably regarded as the deputy of the Master of the Fabric. The first direct mention of this officer occurs in 1342, when it was ordained by Bishop Gower that the payments were to be made to him on St. James' Day, and the dividend &c. paid to the canons at St. Peter ad Vincula.[p] The earlier accounts of the Cathedral, called *Computi*, are always made up to that feast; and it would appear from them that the Communar was a permanent officer. He was sworn into office.[q] Besides his annual accounts, the Communar made a weekly statement of expenses,[r] in

[m] Lib. Stat. p. 144.
[n] *Ibid.* p. 138.
[o] Men. Sac. I. p. 299.
[p] Lib. Stat. p. 25.
[q] *Ibid.* p. 23.
[r] Lib. Comm. I. p. 1. These statements were called *Communicata*.

accordance with an ordinance of Bishop Thomas Wallensis, which directed that those who were over the works should account weekly.[s]

The vicars had also two Proctors for the management of their own affairs.[t]

Vicars' Proctors;

Of the average number of canons resident we have no means of judging, prior to a statute of Bishop Gower "de numero residentium," which bears date 1334. By this it was provided that if there should be no more than ten canons in residence, they should all live within the Close; if more than ten, the surplus were allowed to reside in the town.[u] This shows that there was at that time accommodation for ten canons, which may therefore be presumed to have been the usual average. In later times we find various numbers;[v] and it was not until some time after the Reformation that they were finally fixed at six. In the year 1368 an important change was made in the relative position of the resident and non-resident canons. It was ordered by a statute of Bishop Houghton, that the canons who were dignitaries, and did not reside, if they had other parish churches or temporalities to the value of 100 shillings annexed to their prebends, should pay yearly twenty shillings to the canons resident,—and other simple canons, having prebends, should pay one mark to be distributed among those who attended divine service, as at Sarum.[w] We find this ordinance acted upon, as the Communar in the *Computi* of 1593 and subsequent years accounts for these payments from the non-resident canons.[x] Still, as late as the year 1492,[y] the surplus of the receipts over the general expenses of the Chapter, appears to have been divided among the whole body of twenty-two Prebendaries. But in the year 1539, the next of which we have any account, we find the surplus divided among three residentiary canons,[z] in 1541,[a] and in 1560,[b] between four residentiary Canons. In 1539, the residentiaries were the Precentor, the Treasurer, and the Archdeacon of Cardigan. Among those of 1541, and apparently ever since, the Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, now styled "Residentiarii Nati," were included. It would therefore appear that at some period between 1492 and 1539, the dividend of the common revenues of the Chapter, in the case of the non-residentiary prebendaries, together with

Number of Canons resident;

Residentiaries;

[s] Lib. Stat. p. 21. [t] *Ibid.* p. 38. [u] Lib. Stat. p. 28. See above, p. 223.
[v] In 1504 there were eight canons resident.—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 299.
[w] Lib. Stat. p. 29. [x] Lib. Comm. I. pp. 26, 28, 33, &c. [y] *Ibid.* p. 25.
[z] *Ibid.* p. 26. [a] *Ibid.* p. 28. [b] *Ibid.* p. 33.

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their portion of the tithes of St. David's and Whitchurch, was commuted for a fixed money payment. The portions of the tithes, indeed, continued to be allotted as before; but, their rightful owners having been satisfied by the fixed payment, which now constitutes the Cursal Prebend, they were distributed among the residentiary canons.[b] The number of residentiaries appear to have been limited to six before the close of the sixteenth century, and it seems to have been assumed that the three dignitaries were to be of the number. How the remainder were selected, it does not as yet appear. Perhaps this is the place to mention the curious and, we believe, unique fact of the appropriation from time immemorial to the Crown, of one of the Cursal Prebends, with a Stall in the Choir. No account has been given of the origin of this annexation; and we are not aware that there is any direct evidence that it was made before the Reformation. Distinct from this is an annual pension of £3, formerly paid to the Crown, and still entitled the Præbenda Regis, but given by Queen Elizabeth to the Principal of Jesus' College, Oxford, to whom it has been paid ever since. It is not connected with any stall.

The King's Cursal;

Præbenda Regis;

Choristers; Having concluded this sketch of the growth and development of the Chapter, and of the College of Vicars Choral, we must state what is known concerning the foundation of certain inferior offices in or connected with the Cathedral. And first we must mention the choristers, of whom four were instituted by Bishop Houghton in 1363,[c] and two added by Bishop Morgan in 1501.[d] It was ordained by Houghton that the Bishop's Vicar should instruct the choristers, receiving half a mark annually for his trouble. He appropriated Llanwnen to the support of the choristers. Bishop Morgan added the Hospital or Priory of St. Edward at Llawhaden, with the appropriate church of Llanycefn. This

[b] *E. g.* in the year 1579, the following allocations were made. Six Prebends to the Bishop, his own, that of the Archdeacon of Carmarthen, and those of the Prebendaries of Mathrey and Clydey, and the 6th cursal. To the Precentor, his own, the King's, Treflodyn and the 4th cursal. To the Chancellor, his own, Llangan, Caerfai and the 2d cursal. To the Treasurer, his own and St. Nicholas. To the Archdeacon of St. David's his own. To Mr. Powell, his own and Caerfarchell. To the Archdeacon of Cardigan his own.

"Item allocamus Johanni Bowen Prebendario Cursali, *ex speciali nostra gratia, suam propriam Præbendam* in Dewstocea, pro ann. prox. futuro tantum."—*Reg.* B. This allocation is somewhat *naïve*. See the Table of Cursal Stipends in the Appendix.

[c] Lib. Stat. pp. 137, 8.

[d] *Ibid.* pp. 223–5.

forms the entire complement of choristers on the foundation, but it is usual to admit two more as probationers.[e] We also find mention made of "Clerks,"[f] including probably the officers just mentioned, together with the Verger, Sexton, and the like.

Clerks;

There were also two important foundations for chantry priests, one of which included three and the other two members, and of which a more detailed account has been given in Chapter IV., under the head of "Chantries."[g] It would appear that two or three of these offices were commonly held by one individual.

Chantry Priests;

Lastly, the College or Chantry of St. Mary, "within the cemetery of St. David's," founded by John of Gaunt and Bishop Adam Houghton, may almost be regarded as an integral portion of the Cathedral. It consisted of a Master, seven Fellows or Chaplains, and two Choristers. It was under the visitation, and in the patronage, of the Cathedral Chapter, and the Master was very commonly a canon of the Cathedral. The College was endowed with the Hospital of Whitewell near St. David's,[h] and with the appropriated churches of Mailros, Haroldston, St. Ishmael, Llangunnor and Nevern.[i] Upon the last mentioned church there was charged a yearly pension of £10, for the fabric of the Cathedral.[j] A complete body of statutes was given in 1372 for the government of this foundation.[k] The Master was to be elected by the fellows, the latter admitted, after examination, by the Master. A Precentor, a Sacrist, and a Steward, were to be elected from among the fellows, the last monthly. The College was under the immediate government of the Precentor of the Cathedral, and, in his absence, of the Treasurer.

St. Mary's College;

And here we close the list of the various endowments of St. David's. From first to last, from the ascetic society established by David, to the completion of the corporation by Bishop Morgan, they all bear witness to a romantic spirit of devotion, which first selected a wild and inaccessible site for its exercise, and then regarded the spot as consecrated by the preference thus accorded to it.

General remarks on the endowments.

[e] Reg. G. p. 78. [f] Lib. Comm. I. p. 12. [g] See above, pp. 100, 101.
[h] Dugdale's Monasticon (Ed. 1846), VI. p. 1390. [i] Lib. Stat. pp. 70–72. [j] *Ibid.*
[k] These are given at length in Dugdale's Monasticon, VI. p. 1388.

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The extensive benefactions, the gorgeous ecclesiastical and domestic structures, were all the fruits of this spirit: while the neglect, the coldness and the lethargy, which appear alternately with it, have been but the natural reaction from it. From beginning to end the Cathedral establishment at St. David's has been by turns kept alive by a forced and unnatural fervour, and left to the consequences of its isolated and inconvenient position. The endowments, however, seem to have been generally of a kind which called for no very active exercise of self-denial on the part of the donors. They consisted, almost without exception, of appropriated parishes, the annexation of which involved the benefactors in no pecuniary loss, while it entailed very serious inconveniencies on the parishes themselves. It is satisfactory to find that the evils of this system were at length seen and acknowledged. A statute of Bishop Pavy (1493) complains of the extent to which it had been carried, and orders that no new appropriation should take place without the consent of the Chapter.[k] This, however, only re-enacted what appears to have been the practice long before; and, whatever may have been the case with other appropriations, it does not seem likely to have proved any serious check to those which were made to the Chapter itself. They were, however, soon brought to an end by a more summary process. The Reformation did not encourage capitular bodies; the Cathedral of St. David's has received but few benefactions subsequently to it; and we believe the last was a legacy left to it in 1587 by one Meredith Thomas, amounting to the munificent sum of fourpence.[l]

Third Period, 16th to 19th century. History of the See: Changes consequent on the Reformation;

We resume the episcopal history of St. David's at the point where it was interrupted, at the close namely of the reign of Bishop Rawlins, in 1536. With this period, a new era commences here, as well as elsewhere, one which, in our point of view, is most conspicuously marked as that at which the Bishops ceased to have the same local connexion with the See as heretofore. St. David's gradually ceased to be an episcopal residence,[m] and Lamphey being also alienated, the Bishops have for the most part resided in other parts of the Diocese, occasionally on their Deanry of Brecon, but more usually at Abergwili, a house which also may perhaps be more accurately considered as appertaining to the Deanry than to the Bishopric.

[k] Lib. Stat. pp. 221, 2. [l] Coll. Men. II. p. 25, *Note*. [m] See above, p. 203.

We have arranged two earlier periods of the history of the see under heads which we may fairly call the era of Great Bishops, and the era of Small ones.[n] The time subsequent to the Reformation does not admit of so simple a division. Eminent men occur during the whole period up to our own day, but only scattered here and there among a series of prelates, the fame of many of whom, however useful they may have been in their generation, is not likely to extend far beyond volumes such as the present. Since that system of translation was fully established, of which our own times have happily seen the end, perhaps their number has been more numerous. St. David's has been in many cases an episcopal stepping-stone, an early preferment of men who are better known in connexion with other bishoprics. We may also remark that our line of prelates contains an unusual number of persons who have exhibited examples of the ups and downs of life, and that not merely in those two periods when bishops were more exposed to them than any other class of men. The religious revolutions of the sixteenth century supply us with a Protestant martyr and a Roman Catholic confessor, those of the seventeenth supply the same amount of suffering for conscience' sake, though in this case, both on the same side of the question. But besides this, a rather extreme amount of persecution, the more peaceful portions of each of those centuries supply the somewhat unusual spectacle of an episcopal degradation, in each case enveloped in a certain amount of mystery as to its cause.

During the remaining portion of the sixteenth century we may remark that most of the bishops had some previous connexion with the Diocese, or at least with the Principality, either by birth or by previous preferment. We also find translations from St. David's comparatively rare, while translations to St. David's occasionally occur. Of the former we have only two instances, one of which is to an archiepiscopal see. Of the latter we have several, chiefly from Welsh sees, but in one case from an Irish one.

Bishop William Barlow;

The first Prelate who exemplifies these remarks was William Barlow, who sat from 1536 to 1547. He was translated from the see of St. Asaph, and had previously filled the office of Prior of Haverfordwest.[o] After he became bishop

[n] See above, p. 305.

[o] A letter written by him when in that office to Thomas Cromwell, draws a dark picture of the state of the Diocese in his predecessor's time.—*Burnet's Reformation*, III. App. p. 38.

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he was accused of maintaining opinions at variance with the doctrines then generally received on the nature of the Church, the existence of Purgatory, and the necessity of Auricular Confession.[p] We have already had occasion to allude to him as having commenced the destruction of the Palace.[q] We cannot however accept the tradition that he pulled off the lead to portion his five daughters, who married five bishops. It is undoubtedly true that he pulled off the lead, and no less so that he had five daughters[r] who married five bishops; but the daughters were not likely to have been born while the Six Articles were in force, and were more probably due to his occupancy of the see of Bath and Wells in the time of Edward VI. Deprived under Queen Mary, he was under Elizabeth restored to his episcopal functions in a fourth locality, that of Chichester. Besides his devastation of the Palace he alienated much property belonging to the See, including the valuable Manor of Lamphey,[s] one of its choicest possessions, which was granted by him to Henry VIII., and by him to Richard Devereux, ancestor of the Earls of Essex of that name, and the See itself had a narrow escape of being removed to Caermarthen. Barlow's letter to Cromwell[t] on this subject strongly urges the removal, partly on account of the inconvenient situation, and partly because the hopes of Protestantism rested on getting rid of the *religio loci*.

Bishop Robert Ferrar;

The same system of spoliation which we have noticed in the case of Barlow was carried on by his successor Robert Ferrar, consecrated in 1548, under letters patent from the king;[u] the form, as well as the reality, of capitular elections having been then temporarily abolished. He is well known in ecclesiastical history as one of the victims of the Marian persecution, having been burnt at Caermarthen in 1555. But it should also be noticed that he had, by some means or other, got into trouble during the reign of Edward

[p] Collier, Eccl. Hist. Part II. p. 135. [q] See above, p. 203.

[r] "On his wife's monument in a church in Hampshire is this epitaph:—

Hic Agathæ Tumulus Barloi, Præsulis inde
Exulis inde, iterum Præsulis, uxor erat.
Prole beata fuit, plena Annis, quinque suarum,
Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas."—*Fuller's Worthies*, c. 109.

Yet, according to one story, it is said that "he was forced to part with Lamphey for keeping a concubine, which some of the courtiers took advantage of."—*Men. Sac.* I. p. 76. This was probably merely a Romish way of expressing his marriage.

[s] Fenton, App. p. 48. [t] *Ibid.* p. 31. [u] Burnet's Reformation, II. p. 218.

VI. On the execution of Protector Somerset, by whose interest and that of his predecessor Barlow he had obtained his bishopric, in 1552, articles were exhibited against him, containing vague and various accusations of "abuse of authority, maintenance of superstition, covetousness, wilful negligence, and *folly*."[v] For these crimes and misdemeanours he found his way into prison, whence he was only removed to answer a quite different set of accusations during the next reign. His successor Henry Morgan, elected 1556, deprived 1559, was a native of Dewisland, and Chancellor of Llandaff. His successor, Thomas Young, elected 1559, and translated to York, the next year, was also a Pembrokeshire man, born at Hodgeston, and held moreover considerable local preferment, namely the Precentorship of St. David's, a Prebend of Brecon, and the Rectory of his native parish, all which he held in *commendam* with the See. Richard Davies, who succeeded in 1561, was a North Welshman, and translated from the See of St. Asaph, an exchange which would hardly have been made in more recent times, and which seems strange then, as St. David's was already considered a very poor see, in consideration of which Bishop Davies was allowed to retain extensive preferment in *commendam*, including a prebend of his own church.[w] He is celebrated as having procured the translation of the Bible into Welsh, but the Chapter records, as we shall see presently, exhibit him in the less amiable light of a constant alienator (not "without a consideration") of the patronage of his see, especially of the prebends of St. David's and Brecon. Marmaduke Middleton succeeded, being translated from Waterford in 1582. In 1592 he was deprived of his bishopric for uttering a forged will, and died the same year. Anthony Rudd, 1594–1614, calls for no special notice. Richard Milbourne, elected 1615, we have already alluded to in connexion with the destruction of the Palace, and he also calls for notice as being the first example of the systematic translation which now commences, he being removed to Carlisle in 1621. His successor was the famous Laud, who held the see (with much other preferment) from 1621 to 1626, when he was translated

Bishop Henry Morgan;

Bishop Thomas Young;

Bishop Richard Davies;

Bishop Marmaduke Middleton;

Bishop Anthony Rudd;

Bishop Richard Milbourne;

Bishop William Laud;

[v] Men. Sac. I. p. 76. The last mentioned charge involved the several points of wearing a hat, christening his child Samuel, whistling to the said child, whistling to a seal in Milford Haven, and riding with "a bridle with white studs & snaffle, white Scottish stirrops white spurs, a Scottish pad with a little staffe of three quarters long." The charge of folly is retorted by the Bishop, not unreasonably, on his accusers.—*Foxe, Acts and Monuments* (Ed. 1610), pp. 1405, 8.

[w] Men. Sac. I. p. 80.

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to Bath and Wells. Theophilus Field was translated from Llandaff to St. David's in 1627, and from St. David's to Hereford in 1635.

Bishop Theophilus Field;

This is the last instance of a translation to St. David's, and the series of local prelates may be considered to have ended with Davies, though occasional instances of a Welshman or a holder of Welsh preferment will still occur.* But, generally speaking, from this time onwards we shall commonly find this bishopric bestowed without any regard to its peculiar circumstances, and treated simply as a step to richer episcopal preferment elsewhere.

Bishop Roger Mainwaring;

Bishops William Lucy, William Thomas, Laurence Womack, John Lloyd, Thomas Watson, and George Bull;

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the bishops seem to have resided a good deal at Brecon, and the Collegiate Church of that town was the ordinary burying-place of those who, from any cause, had the ill luck to die in possession of this see. This was the case with Roger Mainwaring (1635–53), who was buried at Brecon, though accounts differ whether he died there or at Caermarthen; with William Lucy (1660–77) and with the greater name of George Bull (1705–9). Two prelates, Laurence Womack 1683–5) and John Lloyd (1685–7) who, after short incumbencies, died out of the Diocese, were buried in the places where they died, Westminster and Oxford respectively. Thomas Watson (1687–99) was deprived. William Thomas (1677–83) was translated to Worcester.

Of all these prelates none appear to have had any connexion with the Diocese, and though only one was actually translated, Bishop Lucy's is the the only case of a long incumbency, Mainwaring's practical possession having been cut short at an early period by the Civil War. The other bishops die mostly after a few years. Of these names also there are but two who can be called celebrated, and only one who can be called great. Mainwaring's appointment is of some historical importance, having been made by Charles I. in the teeth of the disqualification passed upon him by Parliament on account of his famous sermon in support of passive obedience. George Bull we need not enlarge upon as one of the great lights of the English Church. It is only to be regretted that such a man did not obtain the see earlier in life, that it might have reaped the full benefit of his energies.

The fame of the other prelates probably did not extend much beyond their

* Bishops Thomas and Lloyd, after the Restoration, were natives of the Diocese.

own Diocese, but three of them, Lucy, Thomas, and Watson, are of importance to the local historian. Lucy, the first Bishop after the Restoration, is accused of relaxing the discipline of his church and filling it with non-residents. According to Browne Willis, it was owing to Bishop Watson's strenuous efforts to reform this state of things, to call the canons into residence, and to compel them to repair the Cathedral and their official residences, that a conspiracy was formed against him by certain of the delinquents, with Treasurer Meyrick at their head, who procured his deprivation. The worthy antiquary waxes unusually warm on the Bishop's behalf, and certainly, if his statement be true, not without cause.[x] At all events, if Bishop Watson was an injured man, his condemnation reflects disgrace on parties much higher in the Church and State than his refractory canons of St. David's. In 1699 he was tried by the Metropolitan (Tenison) and six bishops for simony, and was condemned to deprivation, with only one dissenting voice, that of Sprat of Rochester, who consented to suspension, but doubted the Archbishop's power to deprive. According to Richardson[y] he prolonged the cause in the Civil Courts, "leguleiorum artibus usus," till 1705, when he was finally defeated on an appeal to the House of Lords, where the same authority describes him as "cum infamiâ profligatus." It illustrates the practice of the Ecclesiastical Courts, that when he died in 1717 at his private estate of Great Wilbraham in Cambridgeshire, he died excommunicate, and was consequently buried without the service of the Church, not for any of his real or imputed offences, but for not paying certain fees to the Archbishop's officers.[z] He was succeeded by Bull, whom he outlived.

Deprivation of Bishop Watson;

Bishop Thomas, in the period between Lucy and Watson, should be noted as having revived a scheme of Bishop Barlow's for translating the see to Caermarthen.

[x] Browne Willis, p. 138.

[y] Richardson's Godwin, pp. 588, 9.

[z] The story is given at large by Burnet (*Hist. of His Own Time*, II. pp. 226, 227, 250), who was one of the Archbishop's assessors in the case, much against Watson. "The bishops that were present agreed to a sentence of deprivation. I went further, and thought he ought to be excommunicated. He was one of the worst men in all respects that I ever knew in holy orders, passionate, covetous, and false in the blackest instances, without any one virtue or good quality to balance his many bad ones. *But as he was advanced by K. James, so he stuck to his interest.*"—(p. 227.) *Hinc illæ lacrimæ;* and hence, doubtless, to a certain extent, the eulogium of Browne Willis. Many pamphlets appear to have been written for and against him, a list of which is given in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790; LX. i. p. 321.

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Bishops Philip Bisse, Adam Ottley, Richard Smallbrooke, Elias Sydall, Nicholas Claggett, Edward Willes, and Richard Trevor;

Reforms attempted by Ottley;

During the first half of the eighteenth century the episcopal history of St. David's is, with a single exception, a mere record of the consecration and translation of prelates to whose names no particular idea is attached. Philip Bisse (1710–12) translated to Hereford, Richard Smallbrooke (1723–30) to Lichfield and Coventry, Elias Sydall (1730–31) to Gloucester, Nicholas Claggett (1731–42) to Exeter, and Edward Willes (1742–3) to Bath and Wells, pave the way for Richard Trevor (1743–52) whose unusually long banishment to the Menevian Gyarus was finally rewarded by promotion to the Palatine See of Durham. The succession of these obscure prelates is however broken by the honourable name of Adam Ottley (1713–23) who, according to our usual authority, Browne Willis, appears to have gone far, in a lax age, to revive the character of a primitive prelate.[a] We have already had occasion to allude

[a] Browne Willis dedicates his *Survey of Bangor* to Ottley, and in a copy of that work now in the possession of the Authors, containing the writer's MS. additions, the following verses are inscribed on a fly-leaf:—

"Ode Auctoris hujusce Libri dedicatoria Inscripta et dicata Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ADAMO (istius nominis secundo) Wallensium Archiepiscopo Anglico Sermone ex Latino donata.

O decus vestræ venerande Præsul
Infulæ, O sedis Menevensis almum
Sydus, has vultu solitus benigno
Accipe curas;
Quem diæcesi potius labanti
Advocem? Pastor proprius reliquit,
Ambiens plausus, miser, et profana
Lite laborans:
Hæc tuæ sedi suberat, priusquàm
Jura Normannus ferus occupasset,
Aut amor nummi violasset ipsas
Impius Aras:
En! ut exsurgit meditans medelam
Alter Houghtonus; vetus urbs refloret
Davidis sub Te, redit et prioris
Tempus Adami:
Vi nova, norma veteri, statuta
Te reducentem aspicimus, Palati
Heu nimis lapsi, meliore ducas
Alite muros:
Te manet partes scelus expiandi
Præsulum Præsul, Tibi larga mens est

O Thou who dost the sacred mitre grace,
Thou the good Starr that rul'st St. David's place,
Most Reverend Prelate these my lines receive,
And let them thro: thy wonted goodness live.
E'er the fierce Norman had his conquests gain'd
Or altars were by avarice prophan'd
Bangor was subject to St. David's See;
To whom then can its clerks or lay'ty flee
For succour in distress but unto Thee:
As if His di'ocess needed not His eye,
Unvisited its Pastor * lets it lye,
While he strange doctrines labours to maintain,
And fondly seeks from thence Applauses vain;
But see, O Wales, another Houghton fills
The selfsame Throne, & selfsame Blessing wills;
St. David's ancient city now revives,
And Her first Adam's age once more arrives.
Thee Ottley with new vigour wee behold
Enlivening Statutes to their force of old,
A Palace which some thought no crime t' impair,
We see rebuilding by thy better care.
Large is thy mind Religion fills thy breast,

* Hoadley.

to his unusual activity in the visitation of his Cathedral, and to his contemplated removal of the Episcopal residence to St. David's, a measure however, which

Insitum numen, decóratque avito
Cum lare virtus:
Te pudet divæ Mariæ sacelli,
Ob lucrum plumbi spoliata tecta;
Te pudet cæcum, ac rabidum furorem
Sacrilegi ævi.
Antecessorum at cineres movere
Musa fastidit, tenebris quiescant;
Quicquid egerant male, nec loquatur
Fama futura;
Quin tuas laudes potius referre
Gestiat quantum domini decorem
Diligis Templi, struere et laboras
Rudera sacra:
Sic pie Lichfeild adytum, ruinis
Sordidis, Hacket bonus excitavit;
Sic humo lapsam cathedram Bathensem,
Montague struxit.
Non minus virtus Pater O colende
Cor tuum replet, pari Amore flagras
Ædibus sacris, opibusque spretis
Æthera spectas:
Quod diu vivas stabilire nisus
Tam bene incæptus, Britones precantur,
Serus ut cælum repetas, diurna
Votaque fundunt:
Protegat cartas faciles perire
Has tuum nomen, monumenta vestrum
Saxonûm, non ulteriùs timebant
Temporis iras:
Sis favens nostris studiis patronus,
Hosce conatus tenues foveto
Pignus ut magni exiguumque Amoris
Suscipe quæso
Edidi si quid bene debeatur
Id tuis jussis, male si quid edo
Carpitur frustra Invidia, auspicante
Præsule tanto.

Of virtue Thou'rt by Ancestry possest,
And highly born, seem'st as rais'd up alone
For crimes of Predecessors to atone:
How does it shock thy spirit to survey
St. Mary's Beauteous Chapell in decay.
Where Pænitents have wept, & Pray'rs been said,
Spoyl'd of its Roof for lucre of the lead;
The sacrilegious Acts of former days
In Thy great soul does just Resentment raise;
But here the Ashes of the Dead, my muse
Would not with any violence abuse,
They're gone to answer for the ills they've wrought
So let their Actions n'ere to light be brought.
Let their Black deeds in gloomy darkness rest
Nor the Remembrance future Fame suggest;
Thy praises rather let it sing, Thy care
From ruins to restore the House of Pray'r
Be it Her chiefest glory to Record
Thy Zeal t' adorn the Temple of the Lord;
So once good Hacket Lichfeild's Holy place
Reviv'd from Rubbish to a comly face:
So Mountague for Piety renown'd
Nobly rais'd *Bath* cathedral from the ground.
An æqual ardour, a divine desire
O generous Father setts thy soul on fire,
Thy soul which wealth despising thither tends
Where only good & true Ambition ends.
That gracious Heav'n may yield thee length of days
To finish what thy Honest Heart essays
That late thy spirit may to God ascend
In Pray'r all British knees devoutly bend
These works which else must perish soon, them let
Thy name prefixed preserve from envies threat
There like thy Saxon monuments secure
In spite of time they will for e're endure
Unto my Travells be a Patron still
And favour this attempt with thy good will
Receive it as a debt which I no way
But in this sort can ever hope to pay
If any thing herein is finisht well
The merit does on thy Commandment dwell
And if there's any thing perform'd amiss
So you approve in vain may envy hiss.

practically viewed, would have been of very doubtful advantage. Abergwili Palace he repaired at great cost, and fitted up the chapel. There he died, and "out of his great humility he ordered his body to be laid in Abergwili church-yard."[b]

Bishops Anthony Ellis, Samuel Squire, Robert Lowth, Charles Moss, Hon. James Yorke, John Warren, Edward Smallwell, Samuel Horsley, Hon. William Stuart, and Lord George Murray;

The remainder of the last century presents a similar picture. Of the ten bishops who were elected between the translation of Trevor in 1752 and the close of the year 1800, only the first two and the last retained the see for life. Of the former Anthony Ellis held it from 1752 to 1761, and his successor Samuel Squire died after a shorter episcopate of five years. Squire was a man, in his own day, of some repute as an inquirer into early constitutional history, and we meet during this period with two names of greater celebrity, those namely of Robert Lowth, who succeeded Squire in 1766, and Samuel Horsley, who was consecrated in 1788. But the former was translated in the first year of his consecration to Oxford, and thence to London; the latter, in the year 1793, to Rochester, and subsequently to St. Asaph. Of the rest, Charles Moss succeeded Lowth in 1766, and was translated in 1774 to Bath and Wells; the Hon. James Yorke was translated in 1779 to Gloucester, and thence to Ely; John Warren was translated in 1783 to Bangor, and Edward Smallwell in 1788 to Oxford. The successor of Horsley, the Hon. William Stuart, became Archbishop of Armagh in 1800,[c] and was followed by Lord George Murray, who died Bishop of St. David's in 1803.

Bishop Thomas Burgess;

This long series of brief episcopates had left the ecclesiastical establishment in South Wales in a most inefficient and unsatisfactory state. Bishop Thomas Burgess, who succeeded Lord George Murray, and retained the see until 1825, found it, "in all important particulars, in a neglected condition. Too generally it had been regarded as a stepping-stone to preferment, a prospect fatal to the conception, and still more to the prosecution of any continuous and well-organized system of improvement."[d] At a late period of life indeed, Bishop Burgess exchanged the onerous duties which devolved upon him at St. David's for the government of the smaller Diocese of Salisbury. But this was not until

[b] Men. Sac. I. p. 93.
[c] Manby, pp. 126, 127.
[d] Harford's Life of Bishop Burgess, p. 214.

he had originated and brought into action several important measures of improvement, which have been further developed and borne fruit under the government of his successors. It should be added that Bishop Burgess resigned together with the see the lucrative Deanry of Durham, which was conferred upon his immediate successor. Bishop John Banks Jenkinson was appointed in 1825, on the translation of Burgess, and was succeeded, on his death in 1839, by Bishop Connop Thirlwall.

Bishop John Banks Jenkinson; Bishop Connop Thirlwall.

We pass from this brief sketch of the episcopal history of St. David's since the Reformation, to notice the general condition of the Cathedral establishment in the period immediately succeeding that change. This must always be one of the most remarkable and interesting eras in the history of any ecclesiastical foundation, as the final turning-point between the old and new state of things. And, most fortunately, the records during the reign of Elizabeth are extremely full, and in many cases enter very much into minute detail, so that we can obtain a fair insight into the general state of the Society. Unfortunately the historian cannot report the Church of St. David's as having been at all in an ideal condition at this time. Our witnesses being records kept under the authority of the Chapter, we cannot expect anything to the discredit of that body to have been invented or exaggerated; but glimpses of disorders even among them occasionally appear; and of those above and below them we can record little that is creditable. The greater part of the entries relate to various disorderly proceedings of the vicars choral: while, as we have already hinted, something very closely bordering upon simony appears to have been the familiar custom of Bishops Richard Davies and Marmaduke Middleton.[a] These two Prelates evidently made a regular practice of granting away to various persons the next collations, as well to parochial benefices as to the offices in their gift in the Churches of St. David's and Brecon; the instruments being confirmed by the Chapter after the ordinary custom of episcopal leases. It is hardly a breach of charity to presume that these grants were not altogether gratuitous. Now indeed some allowance may be made,—and it might be hard to look for extreme rigour of conscience in such matters just at this time,—when we consider how miserably the bishopric had been plundered; so that

General state of the Cathedral after the Reformation:

Grants of collations by the Bishops;

[a] Reg. A. pp. 120–254. *passim*. B. p. 97.

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for its occupants to maintain their fitting state and hospitality (to say nothing of the additional claims on their purses allowed by the new system) was pretty well out of the question. Still we can hardly hesitate to condemn this practice as at once a breach of trust and a fraud upon future occupants of the see; nor can we afford to shed many tears over the hard fate of Bishop Middleton, whose deprivation was no more than these practices deserved.[f]

Condition of the Vicars Choral;

The extremely irregular, and often positively scandalous, conduct of the vicars may be in some degree accounted for by the strange and anomalous position in which they must have been placed in most churches, and in that of St. David's more especially. A considerable number of persons, partly clergy, partly laity, probably in most cases of humble origin, a little raised by their mere offices, without any corresponding education, with no duty beyond that of forming the choir at the Cathedral services, and with no other visible means of occupying themselves, must have been a most unmanageable body. One would suppose that the only class of persons who could really endure such a position would be a College of students, with the same regular succession to higher preferment as in our academical Colleges at the present day. But the vicars of St. David's, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, do not appear to have been remarkable for learning;[g] at least there are several orders of the Chapter

Their ignorance;

[f] He was degraded, as Browne Willis conjectures (p. 124), for "some Simoniacal Practices he had been guilty of." If so, his successor, Anthony Rudd, refused to take warning by his fate, as we find him walking in the steps of his immediate predecessor.—*Reg.* C. p. 6. However Browne Willis, in his MS. note on p. 124, hints that he had forged a will.

[g] " . . . Nono die Januarij anno Dni Mill^mo Quingent^mo sexagesimo secundo . . . . pleno Capitlo ecclie Cathe^lis meneven'

At the whyche daie yere & place was presentyd a lett^r of the Reuerend ffather in God Roland by the pmission of God bushop of Bango^r, Coñendatorye of the canõrye & prebend of Trefflodyne w^tin the Cathedrall churche of S^t. Davyds contaynynge in the same the collacion of the vicare chorall of the saied canõrie and p̃bend after the naf̃all death of Willyã phillipps Geven by the sayde reuerend ffather, directed unto the worshipfull m^r thomas huett, chauntor of the saied Cathedrall churche affor'saied, & in his absens to the subchaunto^r there, To Willyã ap owen, whiche Willyã byffore the worshipfull m^r. Davyd ap Powell, chauncello^r of the saied cathedrall Churche the Subchaunto' & the hoole Chapt^r was found insufficiẽt specially in redinge the old Testamẽt Whereupon he is enjoyned daiely to rede distinctelie xx psalmes of David the pphett and also ij Chappt' of theolde Testamẽt whereby he may the sone' be pfect to execute thoffice of his vicar chorall And thus to contynewe untill siche tyme he be approved by the worshipfull m^r thomas huett chaunto' of the saide Cathedrall churche of S^t. Davis. The p'miss' obsved by

on record requiring an attendance,[h] which seems to have been very reluctantly given,[i] upon the Cathedral schoolmaster, even on the part of the clerical members of the College. Nor could they, in such a position as St. David's,

the said Willyã this admission to take effecte otherwise not obsved fiet in misericordia p'centoris et c'".—*Reg.* A. p. 52.

[h] "March 7, 1564.—Quo die et loco hit is ordeyned & enacted in this chapt^r. that all suche younge vicars choralls & queresters shalbe dayle at scole days appoynted to lerne at vj of the clock in the mornyng & obediently to lerne & contenewe w^th the scole m^r all there accustomed tymes obeynge there saied scole m^r. In case they do this refuse that it shal be req'red of the sayed scole m^r to Sartifie m^r presydent of the chapt^r of their faults & by the order of the chap^tr the offendo's shall suffre admonysheinge the furste & second & at the thirde fawlte to be utt'ly expulsed frõ his stall & vicarege for ever."—*Ibid.* p. 87.

[i] "Apr. 27, 1565. in pleno capitllo. M^r. Morgans scolmaster Complayned in this chapito^r before the worshiptull mast^r Chauncello^r debite to mast' Chaunto' upon Willyã huett vicare chorall of dyu'se faults worthie to be reformed as the saied m^r. morgans dothe aledge & is alwayes redye to prove: to the whiche Complaynte the saiede Willyã huett wolde not make awns' nor obey Such ordre as m^r chauncello' debite & the rest of the chapt' wholde ordre but obstynately & unreverently contrary to his othe ageinste all good ordre of the statut of this Cathedrall, dishobediently & vnreasonablye vsede hym selfe that all honeste eares moughte be sorye and ashamed to heare, wherevppon m^r. president Coñaũdid the saiede Willyã huett owte of the qwere (anteq̃ meruit [?] meliorẽ gratiam) bothe to good ordre of this Chapto^r and statut' of the same And also to obey & reuerence his saiede scolemast' accordinge to the ordre and decree made of late for good ordre o^r vicar choralls wr'eton in this bok vij^o die martij 1564."—*Ibid.* p. 89.

"Dec. 1, 1565.—Quo die et anno It was considered that where S^r Evan Elis and Willyã ap owen vicars choralls of this churche of S^t Davis by the statute of the same was expelled frõ the same churche the xxij daie of November, 1565, for there offences as more playnely dothe appere in an acte made the saied daie and yere | declaringe Where as c'taine abvses & mysvses are fownde in c'taine Companye of this Quier (et cetera) And also where it was decreyd and ordeyned by the worshiptull m^r. Thomas huett Chaunto^r of this Cathedrall churche of S^t. Davis & chapt of the same, that all the young vicars that is to saie Sir Willyã huett, Sir Thomas Llewes Sir Evan Elis Willyã ap owen John Harrys & John Jones, and also John probert David lloyd Davyd phillip & Iohn Bulton qweresters of the saied churche schoulde be dailie at scole appoynted by my lord bushoppe m^r. chaunto^r & Cannons of this ca^th churche, so appoynted there to lerne & contenewe w^th the scolemast^r all there accustomed tyme yn case they or any of y^m dothis reffuse to do, that they shoulde first suffer pecunyall punyshm̃te for their deffaulte and yf not remedyat by that, then the admonyshenyng accordinge the statutes of this church and at the iij^d default to be vtt'ly expulsed (tam ab officio q̃ beneficio) by y^e saied m^r chaunt' or his debite in chapt'. Whiche saied defaultes as well pecunyall as ij admonycions (approved) ye & the third w^h is an Expultion (if extremyte were had) Yett vppon submyssion of repentance of them taken by the worshiptull m^r David powell chauncello^r of this churche p'sident & debite to m^r. chaunto^r in this chap^tr theire restitucion to the q̃re is restored and again [?] (their p̃dicions of their expulsion onlye excepted) as more plainelie dothe appere in acte made the xxij^th daie of novemb' 1565, in chapt'. vppon this condicion That if the saied Willyã & s^r Evan do com̃ ffrequẽte et contynewe there saied scole accordinlie & no more absentinge them selffs w^t owte leaue of their scolemast^r and y^t vppon payne of expulsion for eu' (tã ab officio q̃ b)."—*Ibid.* p. 114.

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find the means, supplied by most cities, for eking out their time and income by employments, ecclesiastical or secular, which, if not helping to carry out the original design of the institution, at all events serve to maintain its members in a state of decent respectability. The priest vicar sunk in the parochial minister, the lay vicar disguised as a tradesman or music-master, are not indeed what would be desired in an ideal Cathedral establishment; still they are better than such a Collegiate body as the vicars of St. David's appear to have been in the times immediately following the Reformation.

Moral and social condition of the Vicars;

Many of these entries are well worthy of preservation, on higher grounds than those of any mere local or antiquarian interest. They often throw light upon the manners and state of society at the period; and not a few have the still more universal and durable claim of being thoroughly good stories. Some of these are recited in full in the notes; and to others it will be sufficient to make a brief allusion. We have had occasion to point out the intellectual condition which characterized the inferior members of the Cathedral body at this period; we shall now collect the traces of their moral and social state, which, indeed, can hardly be separated from the former. On the very same day that William Owen, one of the vicars choral, is "found insufficient, specially in reading the Old Testament," another, David Lloyd by name, stands charged with the more positive offence of "keeping a tavern" within the Cathedral precincts; an accusation which he retorts in a ludicrous manner on the head of his rebuker, Mr. Chancellor Powell.[j] In 1572 Richard Argas, or Hargest, another vicar choral, is censured for a somewhat similar offence.[k] In 1563 we

[j] "And at the afforesaide daie tyme & place byt is enioyned to Dauid lloyd vicare chorall of the Cathedrall churche of St Davids by the worshipfull m^r. David ap Powell chauncell' there & debite unto m^r. chanto' in this chapt' afforesaied that the saied Dauid lloyd ffrō this daie foreward shallkepe no more Taverne ffor dyūse Inconvenyences there to be approved w^tin the Vally of the Cathedrall churche upon . . . . . of expulsyon of the Queir. Hæc [?] prima monitio. Upon the whiche admonycion the seyde Dd loyed stowtly stode up byfore the hole Chapito' & seyde that the seyde M^r. Dd powell dyd Coñawnde this upon hym more of malice then for any good reformacion. then the seyde m^r Dd powell awnsweryd & saide that he did nothing els butte accomplishe the Queenes ma^ties Injunction & my lords life whiche is furthe coñynge to be therein. And there in m̃ltiplyeng of words the sayed Davyd lloyd seyed that he kept a bett' howse than m^r David Powell chauncello' dothe," &c.—*Reg.* A. p. 52.

[k] "Richard Argas. Also upon the same day Argas by m^r Chaūtor and chapter aforesaid is admonished that he shall not p'mit the vicars nor any of them to vse unlawfull games in his hoūse as cards tables, and extraordinary drinkinge & spendinge &c. and the said Argas assented thereunto."—*Ibid.* p. 241.

are sorry to find John Harries and Evan Ellis entering unlawfully and in a suspicious manner into the Precentor's orchard;[l] and two years later the said Evan Ellis, together with William Owen (whose biblical scholarship has been already alluded to) and Hugh Walter, receive the final punishment of expulsion on being found of guilty "pleying at cards for candells" in the house of the Archdeacon of Cardigan.[m] They probably discovered too late that "Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle."

Some of the records are extremely curious, as showing the gradual breaking up of the collegiate life among the vicars,[n] and also that the Injunction put forth by the Queen ten years earlier (an entry of which is found duly made in the Chapter records[o]) forbidding the admission into the Cathedral Closes of any of the wives of the clergy or other officers of the Church, was not very strictly observed. In 1571 Thomas Tomkins, vicar choral, is admonished by the Precentor "to procure and get home his wedded wife, as is supposed, betwixt this day and one fortnight after Lammas day next;"[p] and in the same year the Chapter pass a formal decree that "no mastiff or ban-dog" be kept within the Close. We are not to suppose that the prohibition originated in the abstract love of good order which induces our College authorities at the present day to fulminate their edicts, occasional or periodical, against Skye terriers and Pomeranian puppies; as it is evident from the context that a specimen of the larger and more formidable variety had occasioned a serious collision between two of the vicars.[q] Similar entries, sometimes of quarrels and other misdemeanours among the vicars themselves, sometimes of acts of insubordination towards the superior officers of the church, and always of rebukes and "godly admonitions" on the part of the latter,[r] continue to deface its annals throughout the whole reign of Elizabeth.

[l] "xvij die mens' Julij Anno Dñi Millmo Quĩgentesimo sexages . . . [1563] in pleno caõ Ecclie Menevens'.

"Quibus die et loco: hit is commaunded by the Right worshipfull mr. thomas huett chaunt of the same to John Harryes & to Evan Elies vicars choralls of the saied churche & to eũy of theyme ffor . . . coñynge by nyght unlawfully unto mr. chauntors orchard suspicio . . . . . in thyme of mydnyght an admonycyon: that is to saye . . ." &c.—*Reg.* A. p. 57.

[m] See above, p. 219, *Note*. [n] See above, p. 217. [o] Reg. A. pp. 18, 19. [p] *Ibid.* p. 236.

[q] "Ed. powell and } were made friends by mr Chaũter &c. . . . . .
John Jones } decreed that no mastyfe or Bandog &c sh . . . .
valey &c."—*Ibid.*

[r] "May 29, 1572.—John Jones. ffirst the same Jones by the right worshipfull mr. Thomas

Cathedral School;

A considerable share of the attention of the Chapter appears to have been most rightly devoted to the Cathedral School. Some of the entries relating to this subject are given at length elsewhere.[s] The remarkable fact that the priest vicars (or at least the junior portion of them), who may be distinguished in the records by the usual clerical prefix of "Sir,"[t] were obliged to attend the school, as well as the lay vicars and choristers, and were subject to the same penalties for non-attendance, revealing a state of society which one could hardly have conceived existing within less than three hundred years. In 1586, on the appointment of William Huett[u] to the office of Schoolmaster, it is

huet chaũter &c., m^{r} Ric Edwards chaũcello^{r} &c and m^{r} Doctor powell canon resident &c. hath a second admonition geauen hym to vse hym selfe lowly reũendly and godly in the Queere at Diuine s'vis: and to doe his best in setting forth the glorie of God in his vocaĉon whereunto it hath plesed god to call hym; & to use hymself reũendly towards the chaũtor, and other the masters, according as he is bound by his oath & the statute. And to read distinctly, and to geave oũ plaing at cards and tables and other vnlawfull games and riotous living, to the good example of other: and to his owne coñoditie good name and fame.

"Furthermore the said John Jones by m^{r} Richard Edwards and m^{r} Doctor Powell, for his disobedience and mysbehaviour against m^{r} Chaũtor: w^{h} matiers could not well be denied he shall humble himself, and acknowledge his faulte and so ask Mr Chaũtors frgeavenes. And thereupon he confest his faulte: and Mr Chaũtor most charitablie, after godlie exhortaĉons, forgave him."—*Reg.* A. p. 241.

To this extraordinary cento of the Church Catechism, we may add an instance of a "godly exhortation" delivered to the whole body of Vicars, about "things in general":—

"The xixth day of July 1578.—M^{r}. Thomas huet chaunter of the said churche and m^{r}. Richard Edwards chancello^{r} of the sayd churche, held a chapter in which after that the sayd mr chaunter had made a godly exhortaĉon to the vicars choralls and to all other inferior members of the churche then & there pũt for the reformaĉon of diũ faults and mysdemeanours, &c. The said chapter continued vntill before noone of the Monday next following; On w^{h} Monday it was decreed by M^{r} Chaũtor aforesaid that Richard Love and Ioñn Higge lately installed and sworne vicars chorall are but vicars chorall p̃ uno anni [*sic*] probatiõis vntil the feast of S^{t}. James thapostell 1579."—*Reg.* B. p. 1.

[s] See above, pp. 338, 9, *Note.*

[t] The prebendaries are distinguished as "Mr.," apparently *as* prebendaries, for we can hardly conceive that the whole of so numerous a body, especially at that period, and in Wales, were invariably Masters of Arts.

[u] See above, p. 339, *Note.* The rigid discipline of the Cathedral School appears to have been profitable to this worthy, as it raised him ultimately to preside over it in his own person. Those who care to see its intellectual and moral results, will do well to read the letter of William Huett (dated Oct. 18, 1580) in the *Stradling Correspondence*, edited by the Rev. J. M. Traherne, p. 229, with the letter (dated Sept. 28, 1581) at p. 266, and another, without date, at p. 322, of the same volume, both evidently by the same hand. "The slipperie wheele of Fortune," of whose "mutabilitie" he complains in the letter last cited, whirled him up from the condition

ordered "that no salary shall be paid to the said Schoolmaster either by the said children or their parents."[v]

Religious changes; Books, Vestments, &c.;

Several interesting notices of the fabric, its ornaments and services, may be made out during this period. In 1565 we find entries of

"It. for 3 sawter bocks for y^e^ church - - - 4s. 8d.
It. for 3 bocks of Jenevia[w] salmes - - - - 5s."[x]

Yet the more ancient literature of the Cathedral was not without its admirers, as we find from the hard fate of an inferior officer of the church six years later:—

"Elis ap Howel, Because he being Sextene in the Cath' churche of S. Dauids, of long tyme did conceall certain vngodly popish books: as masse books, hympnalls, Grailes, Antiphon^rs^, and suche like (as it were loking for a day): m^r^ Chaũtor dep^r^vid hym of the sextenship and the ffees thereunto belonging, Jn the pñs of m^r^ Richard Ed chaũcellour and other &c. And the said m^r^ Chanter on the ..... day of this instant July, caused the said ungodly books to be canceld and torne in pieces in the Vestrie before his face. In the pñs of m^r^ Chaũcell^o^ & other vt suprà. &c."[y]

This passage is an instructive one, as showing in how completely different aspects the same objects may appear to different generations. We may fairly conceive these "ungodly books" to have been gorgeous displays of mediæval art, which every educated person at the present day, of whatever tastes or opinions, would carefully preserve, and which the antiquary, the lover of art, and the ritual student would alike seize upon as an inestimable treasure. Yet "Mr. Chanter" in 1571 "cancels and tears them in pieces," not only without compunction, but with manifest glee. Nor can we altogether fix the stigma of barbarism upon him for this act; in so early a stage of the Reformed Church,

of "ægestas, amonge scholors durissimum telum," wherein he stood in 1580, to the dignified position of Master of the Choristers at St. David's, to which he attained in 1586. Let us hope that he found opportunities in that office to atone for his early errors, by warning the rising generation against them, the more so that he subscribes himself "William Huett, *Clerke*. "If follies past," he writes, "might by repentance be revoked, for what is past I am hartely sory: but, the horse being stollen, yt is too late to shoot the stable doore."

[v] Reg. B. p. 143.

[w] Was this form, under which Calvin might have failed to recognize his own city, designed as a rhyme for Menevia?

[x] Lib. Comm. I. p. 25.

[y] Reg. A. p. 236.

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the relics of the former system could not be surveyed with the calm eye, the merely literary or antiquarian interest, which, at this distance of time, they excite; to him they were engines of superstition, which had been used for purposes of wicked idolatry, and which, if the "day" looked for by Ellis ap Howel should ever arrive, might be so used again; to him they were no interesting curiosities of a defunct age, but living, practical works of the Beast, to be destroyed, and trampled under foot; the more gorgeous was the array of gold and azure, of rich border and painted legend, the more palpably and visibly did they belong to the class of "ungodly Popish books," to be "cancelled and torn in pieces" by every faithful Chanter and Chancellor, especially by those of a church which had so recently laid out five shillings in "Jenevia salmes."[z]

Loss of Records;

It would have been well if the destruction of ancient manuscripts had stopped here. As archæologists, indeed, we are bound to bewail the fate of Grailes and Hymnals, but in our special function as the historians of St. David's, we have sustained a more serious loss at the same hands. Precentor Thomas Huett, the same who cancelled the "ungodly Popish books" in 1571, had sent away, only three years before, the MS. records of the Cathedral to Bishop Richard Davies,[a] by whom they appear never to have been restored. Certain it is that there is no Register of the Chapter Acts extant, of earlier date than 1560; the only documents prior to that year being the Statutes, and a few of the annual accounts, transcribed at a later period than that of which we are now speaking.

Vestments fared a little, but only a little, better than books. In 1583,[b] we

[z] This goes on the supposition that the "ungodly Popish books" did really contain something contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; we will not suppose—especially as the proceeding had the sanction of that officer whose especial duty it was to "instruct the younger sort of Canons"—that the Chanter and Chapter of St. David's belonged to that class of reformers who condemned the most profane illuminations of knights and ladies as idolatrous representations of Popes and Saints, and who committed to the flames the magical forms of triangles and parallelograms as the special work of the Evil One.

[a] Reg. A. p. 187.

[b] "For as much as the copes belonginge to the Cathedrall church of St Dauids, remayninge in the custodie of Mr. Thomas lloyd, Tresurer of the said church, do dailie decaye and be very Old and to no great vse purpose, or value, it is therefore ordered and decreed in his said ordinarie visitacon by the Reu'end Father in God Marmaduke by Divine pvidence Byshoppe of St Dds by the assent and consent of the chauntor and chapter of the said churche, that some of the said copes shall be solde, lest they utterlie p'ishe; & the price of the same imployed towards the bying

find three copes only retained, order being taken for the remainder to be partly sold, partly "translated to make carpets, cushions, and pulpit-cloths." Our chronology here enables us to fix eighteen years as the term of days for which a covering of the "drum ecclesiastic" might survive under the "seventeenthly" of those times, for it is recorded that in 1565 the Chapter had expended 2s. 8d. "for making the pulpitt cloath and two cowtions" and 18d. "for flock to stuffe y^e^ said cowtions."[c]

Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles;

However easy the transition may have been in external and ritual matters, it would seem that the Articles of Religion were not adopted by the whole body of the Cathedral clergy with equal good will. At least it is impossible to read the graphic account of their reception—which has been penned for our benefit by the Chapter-Clerk of the time, and which we have thought advisable to embody in our history,—and not to feel that there was an evident desire on the part of some at least of the prebendaries to avoid giving publicity to formularies, the subscription to which they appeared to have regarded as a bondage.

"The names of prebendaries that
read articles in the Cathl̃ churche of S Dauids
and upon what daies and after what maner
ordre and forme they read the same &c.

"1. M^r^. Arch. prat. ffirst on Sonday second of September 1571 M^r^ Archdeacon pratte p'ched at Saint Dauis, and in thend of his s^o^mone shewd a testimoniall vnder the byshops Seall &c, that hee had subscribd to tharticles et c. and read tharticles then and thear playnly and distinctly &c.

"2. M^r^. Arch. Gwyn. On Sonday xvj^th^ of Septemb̃ 1571, M^r^ Lewes Gwyn archdeac̃on of Cardigan, after the Gospell, at com̃union, standing in his stall in the Queer read the artĩcles &c and shewed the byshops Testimoniall that he had subscribed to the said articles: And said further that hee did subscribe to the said articles in the convocac̃on house at London &c.

of bookes and other ornaments of the said churche, as far as the same shall extend, accordinge to the discression of the said Byshoppe, Chauntor and chapter, and others of the said copes to be translated to make carpetts quishins and pulpitt clothes for the use of the said churche. Three onlie copes being reserved for the service and use of the said churche, and upon delifye of the said copes to be made by the said Tresurer, the said Byshoppe Chauntor and chapter for them and their successors, to dischardge acquite, and exonerate the said Tresurer, his Executors and administrators by this p̃sent acte whereunto they have subscribed the daie and yere above written."—*Reg.* B. p. 34.

[c] Lib. Comm. I. p. 40.

"3. Mr. Doctor hughes.[1] On sonday xxiij of Septemb' vt sup' in prop' &c mr doctor Hughes Treasourer of the cath. churche of S. Dauids, towards the end of forenone prayer, as the people througed out of the churche, being toward dyñ tyme, went to the pulpit, hauing the lesser article booke in his hands But I e. p. clerke of the chapter tarried not to here any thing read, because it was dyner tyme. Item on Sonday last of Septembr 1571, The saide doctour Hughes eftsones came to the Quier of the Cath. churche of Saint Dauids at morning prayer in a payr of Slippers, in a short gowne or riding cloke his surplys on, and his tippet on that: and after morning prayer and letanye he went to the Pulpit & toke these words for his theame, viz. Qui se exaltat humiliabitur, qui se humiliat, exaltabitur. And when hee had discoursed a while upon ye theame and Gospell of the day, he desired the congregacõn then & there pñt to pray for the Queen's maiti, the Lords of the councell, and the congregacõn pñt. And then & thereupon he read my L. Byshops certificate how he had subscribed. And that being done he read the smaller book of articles, saving only that he read not the stile of the same boke Imprinted at London in Poules churcheyard by Richard Jugge & John Carved printers to the Queens maiestie, beeing dated 1562. and not the large' booke of articles, last set forth in 1571. ffinally he desired the people to be witnesses, how he had read the artīcles according to his bounden duetie.

"4. Mr. Chaunter. On Sonday xxiij of Septembr 1571—being first day of mr Edwards residence, Mr. Thomas Huet Chaũter &c. read the artīcles in the pulpit, ymmediatly after morning prayer accordingly. That is, he read first the certificate of my L. byshop of S. Dauid's, and openly confessed how hee had aforetime subscribed to the artīcles in two seval Convocacõns.

"5. Mr. Luson. On sonday vijth of October 1571, when I e. p. clerke of the chapter, was at llan Stinan, he read articles, as I heard say, at St Dds.

"6. Mr. Blethyn. On sonday iiijth of November 1571, He read the stile of the booke of articles after the Gospell, standing at the east end of the Tombe where the pistell and Gospell be read. To the wh artīcles (he said) that hee had subscribed three seuerall tymes. Viz. In the covocacõn housse at London: at Landaf: and before my L. byshop of Saint Dauids. Then orderly he read the booke of tharticles throughout. But to my knowlege, he shewed not my L. byshop of S. Dauids certificate, If he had any &c

"7. Mr. Thomas Williams. On sonday xi of Novemb' . . . . . clerke, p'bendary of Tref Lodan, after the . . . . . having on his surplesse, standing in h . . . . . shewed his testimoniall from thordinary and read both it & thartīcles accordingly. And after the second lesson of the said morning prayer

"8. Mr. Henry Holland read his certificate and tharticles accordingly.

"9. Mr Willm Dauids. On sonday xvjth of Decembr Mr Willm Dauids standing in the Queer in his owne stall, read the artīcles accordingly: after which reading,

[1] Dr. Hugh Price, the Founder of Jesus College, Oxford.

"10. Sir John Willms assembled the pysheners to here him read the articles in the p'aching pulpit.

E. P. 1571."[e]

Turning to the state of the Capitular body itself, the first thing that strikes us is the living practical nature of the authority still retained by the Bishop, which one would have less looked for at St. David's than elsewhere, on account of the great distance from the Cathedral of both the ordinary residences of post-Reformation bishops, Abergwili and Brecon. Episcopal visitations, held personally, occur continually, and the jurisdiction exercised in them extends very far beyond our present notions of visitatorial authority. The Bishop does not appear as a mere occasional referee, a mere interpreter of statutes, but as the acting head of the body, taking a share in its minutest concerns. This appears on the face of numerous entries at this time, and apparently without the slightest scruple or opposition on the part of the Chapter. And this authority was exercised by the Bishop strictly as Bishop, and not by virtue of that vague and uncertain claim to the Deanry, of which traces occasionally appear.[f] For we find the Chapter strenuously resisting the claims of the Bishop to be the internal president of their body, and to receive a share of their revenues as such.

The Chapter; Power of the Bishop,

Besides episcopal visitations, now so rare, we find frequent mention of archi-episcopal visitations, which appear now to be completely obsolete in England. But one may be allowed to doubt whether they could have been very practical, or likely to issue in the reformation of many abuses. For not only does the Archbishop invariably visit by commission, which is indeed no more than we should have expected, but the commissaries are generally members of the Church of St. David's.[g] Mr. Chanter is usually called upon, as His Grace's representative, to redress whatever grievances and misdemeanors he may have been guilty of in his every day capacity.[h] The last visitation of the Chapter was held by Bishop Burgess.

and Archbishop:

[e] Reg. A. p. 239. This functionary's name was Edward Powell.

[f] Coll. Men. II. p. 83.

[g] This is in accordance with a Statute of Bishop Gilbert, 1392.—*Lib. Stat.* p. 210.

[h] This position is in fact just the same anomaly as that of the Bishop would have been if the claim mentioned in the last paragraph had been made good. For a Bishop to be a member

CHAP. VII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND SEE.

Archidiaconal Visitation;

In connexion with this subject we must notice a curious controversy which arose soon after the Restoration, between the then Bishop of St. David's, Lucy, and William Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester, who, on his consecration to that see in 1661 was allowed to retain his Archdeaconry of Brecon in *commendam*. Nicholson appears to have claimed to exercise the ordinary jurisdiction of an Archdeacon, which Lucy inhibited. The case was brought before the Court of Arches, and finally referred to the arbitration of the Bishops of London and St. Asaph, who in 1665 gave judgment against the Archdeacon, to whom they allowed the enjoyment and use of "no other power but only the right of inducting Clerks into Benefices upon the Mandate of the Bishop of St. David's, and the right of requiring and receiving Procurations as they grow due." They also add that "it is requisite that from time to time, upon reasonable request to be made by the Archdeacon of Brecknock for the time being, the said Bishop or his Vicar General do yearly at the accustomed times send forth their Monition or summons to all Clerks and other persons concerned to appear at Synods or Visitations, and that, then and there, the said Archdeacon and his successors, in the presence of the Vicar General to the Bishop of St. David's or his Surrogate, inquire by all good and lawful means into all faults and defects within the said Archdeaconry, and inform the Bishop of St. David's thereof, that they may be corrected by the Bishop, or his Vicar General or his Surrogate."[1]

With this judgment Archdeacon Yardley, in a letter appended to the *Menevia Sacra*, makes himself somewhat merry. He observes that if the arbitrators had, as they professed, "perused all *proofs*, evidences, &c., then doubtless they must have consulted the Episcopal Registers, but when they found in these the 'Officialis Archidiaconi,' they were at a loss what to make of it. It could not mean his footman or his butler. It meant—they knew not what. It did not mean what Bishop Lucy would have it mean; and so the arbitrators laid it aside and wisely took no notice of it." He then refers to Giraldus in A.D. 1175 "who tells us how himself exercised his archidiaconal jurisdiction; that when he did this in person, the clergy objected that he ought to visit them by his official as

of his Chapter, whether by custom or by individual appointment, is not very uncommon, but it is clearly an infringement of their proper relations. For in such a case the Bishop may easily become a judge in his own cause; he may be called on, as Visitor, to redress the injuries which he has received or inflicted in his capacity as Canon.

[1] Reg. E. p. 36.

his predecessors did," which he put aside as only an instance of their "segnitas sive ignavia." He avers also that the right to procuration implies a right to jurisdiction, and thus diverts himself with the duties assigned to the Archdeacon by the arbitrators.

"After all, the arbitrators seem to be sensible that the Archdeacons should do something, and therefore find them employment; viz., to request that the clergy be cited," &c., &c. "Here I am at a loss to know which makes the worser figure at this Visitation, the Archdeacon or the Vicar General. The Vicar General is to sit and do nothing: the Archdeacon is to enquire into faults & defects, & to tell the Bishop that which his own official could as well acquaint him with, & upon this information, correction is to follow. Now if this Court is the Court of the Bishop or his Vicar, what has the Archdeacon to do there, & why is the Vicar General to sit there only to hear the Archdeacon catechise those in his Archdeaconry; In short the determination makes y^e^ Archdeacon the principal person in y^e^ Court, & was never, that I know of, complied with, because now the Visitations are not at the request of the Archdeacon, nor is the Archdeacon as such present at those Visitations to make enquiry."[j]

In addition to the evidence referred to by Archdeacon Yardley there can be no doubt, from a statute of Bishop Beck (1287)[k] that at a much later period than that of Giraldus, the Archdeacons exercised the right of visitation.

Constitution of the Chapter;

The constitution of the Chapter may be regarded as having been finally fixed at the Reformation. The body of prebendaries was now divided, in common with those of nearly all the old Cathedrals of England, into two portions, the smaller body of residentiaries, who exercised all the powers and divided all the common revenues of the corporation; and the larger body of non-residentiaries, who received no emolument but that of their several stalls, and exercised no power but the already useless one of voting in the election of a Bishop, together with the privilege, soon to become equally empty, of assisting in the return of a proctor to Convocation. Whether either of these powers were reserved by the non-residentiaries at St. David's, does not appear: this however was the case in all, or nearly all, the Cathedrals of the old foundation. The residentiaries had been limited to six, not by statute, but by custom. And the three dignitaries, that is to say, the Precentor, Chancellor and Treasurer, invariably formed three

Residentiarii;

Residentiarii Nati;

[j] Men. Sac. II. p. 338.
[k] Lib. Stat. p. 14. Compare a statute of Gower, 1332.—*Ibid.* p. 28.

of the members, and were accordingly termed "Residentiarii Nati." The existing body of residentiaries acquired the important prerogative of filling up the other vacancies, as they occurred; and it was held that even the dignitaries, although installed in an office which virtually entitled them to a place among the residentiaries, were not to be admitted to it but by a formal vote of the Chapter. In 1614 Dr. John Johnson was admitted to the office of Treasurer, and claimed a place in the Chapter with a share of its revenues, any custom to the contrary notwithstanding. The record of this transaction runs as follows:—

Claim of Treasurer Johnson;

"At wh day and place we beinge assembled that are aforesaid, Doctor Johnson Treasurer of St David's did psonally exhibite vnto vs a writinge, in maner followinge et in suo scripto.

"I desire that an Act may be entred by your Chapter clerke that here I haue bine and yet am attendinge, to pforme such service to the churche as appertayneth to the Treasurers place wherein I am Canonically installed.

"To wh dignity I am firme is Annexed a Cursall Prebend and a Canon Residenry, wth all other iñunityes and benefitts as appertayneth to any Canõ Resident of this churche.

"In regarde whereof I doe desire or rather demaund such pte and portiõ of all dividents pfitts and Coñodities as haue bine due or are now to be due from hencefurth, since the day of my installaciõ equivalent wth other Canons of this Church.

"To the first Article of the said writing, we the Chauntor & Chapter aforesaide answere that we embrace his offer of service in our Churche in the place of the Treasurer.

"To the second and third we answere that we deny him not a Cursall p'bend in our churche, or any other iñunity or benefit that belongeth to his place.

"And further we answere that whereas he demaundeth a portiõ of all our dividents as a Canõ Residentiary, only as ꝑ his Installaciõ, that his installaciõ putts him not into a double possessiõ of the place of a residentiary, untill he be admitted by vs, accordinge to the foundaciõ and the laudable customes of our House wh we are willinge to performe vnto him, he first effecting those things, wh by the said foundaciõ and honest customs he ought to doe as all Residentiaries haue done before, wh also, in all Love, we shewed unto him out of our booke of Statutes. All wh he refused affirminge our said Statutes not to be goode, and that he would p'sently pcure the reformaciõ of them. And Lastly that he would accept of no other admissiõ than his Installatiõ."[1]

The next day, however, the Chapter triumphed, and the contumacious dignitary,—who appears to have been guided by an abstract rather than a statutable view of the question,—"appeared in person, and humbly petitioned

[1] Reg C. pp. 64, 65.

to be admitted" in the usual manner; which he accordingly was, "having paid the customary fees to the Canons."[m] *Hinc illæ lacrimæ.* The question was a practical one on both sides. On the one hand, the dignitary, at whatever time of the year installed, did not receive admission to the Chapter, or any portion of its revenues, until after the next annual audit at St. James' tide; on the other, the existing canons doubtless derived certain advantages from the prolonged vacancy.

Claim of Bishop Milbourne:

Two years afterwards a claim was put forward affecting, not merely the casual addition to the revenues of the canons during a year of vacancy, but the ordinary annual emoluments. The Bishop, Milbourne, by virtue apparently of his quasi-decanal position, asserted his right to a share of their receipts.[n] That he had originally a right, together with the occupants of all the other stalls, to a share of the common revenues, there can be no doubt; but this had been bartered, in his case and in theirs, for the fixed Cursal payment. Nor does it appear that the Bishop had ever been regarded as a residentiary. However the matter was referred to Archbishop Abbot;[o] but it does not seem ever to have been brought to an issue. And the Chapter appear to have acknowledged the right of the Bishop to sit in their councils, as the same prelate was present at a Chapter meeting in the year 1619.[p]

Supernumerary Canons:

In the following year the magic number of six was broken through by the admission of a seventh or supernumerary canon. The rights of existing canons however were saved, and it was clearly understood to be an exceptional case.[q] The favoured dignitary being a kinsman of the Bishop who had raised the adverse claim just mentioned, this unprecedented act of the Chapter may perhaps be regarded in the light of a compromise. In 1629 and 1633 we find the admission of supernumerary canons again recorded. Another case occurred at the Restoration under rather curious circumstances. Thomas Owen, Prebendary of Mathrey, - a discreet man, as the registrar calls him, not altogether without reason,—was admitted by the canons residentiary, after mature deliberation on their part, to a supernumerary canonry; upon express

[m] Reg. C. p. 68.
[n] *Ibid.* p. 74.
[o] *Ibid.* p. 80.
[p] *Ibid.* p. 82.
[q] *Ibid.* p. 92.

condition, however, that if his elder brother George should at any time hereafter think fit to adorn himself with Holy Orders, he the said Thomas should forthwith renounce all his right and title to the same.[r] The fulfilment of this scandalous condition, which derives significance from the occurrence of two more Owens among the residentiaries at the time, was apparently never called for; as Thomas Owen became an actual canon in 1668. William Owen, admitted a supernumerary in his place, became actual in 1677, and was succeeded as supernumerary canon by George Owen,—whether the party to the extraordinary contract just spoken of, we are uncertain. In fact it became the practice to admit the supernumerary to the next vacancy among the three co-opted canons, and this was adhered to until the middle of the last century. After a short intermission it was revived in a single instance, and with a most extraordinary motive.

Gradual growth of non-residence;

It has been seen that originally the whole body of the canons must have been regarded as perpetually residing. Then there grew up a distinct class of residents, afterwards stereotyped into residentiaries. These were bound to reside, first, apparently, continually; then for three quarters of each year; then for half the year. The Precentor and Treasurer, however, were obliged to reside always. After the Reformation it became the practice to divide the year between them, so that each canon resided for two months, and chose his time of residence according to seniority. This grew into a "laudable custom" and is still so regarded; that is to say, it was a bye-law having the force of a statute; for whether "laudable" or not, it was not the custom. We have already seen how Bishop Watson, according to Browne Willis' view, encountered the resentment of his canons, and ultimate deprivation, in consequence of an attempt to bring them to a sense of duty on this head.[s] Ottley too laboured to bring about a stricter observance of this obligation. Smallbrooke actually invoked the terrors of the law.[t] However, in 1765 the Chapter devised a new

[r] "Eodem die [15 Nov., 1660] dicti venerabiles viri Guilielmus Thomas S. T. pfessor Eccliē Meneven' Præcentor, Evanus Owen S. T. P. cancellarius ejusdē Eccliæ Guilielmus Owen S. T. P. Edwardus Vaughan Art. Magister Archid: Cardigan & Guil: Iones A: M: Archidiaconus Carmarthen habita prius matura deliberatione elegerunt discretū virū mr̄ Thomam Owen Præbendariū de marthrey in Supernumerarium Canonicū Residentarium sed ea conditione ut si magister Georgius Owen frater ejus major natu Sacris Ordinibus honestari vellet huic dictus Thomas Owen omne jus suum ad dictum Canonicatum penitus renunciaret et dicto Georgio cederet."—*Reg.* G. p. 6.

[s] Reg. H. p. 65.

and most ingenious scheme, which brought sinecurism and non-residence to their culminating point. They admitted John Harries, Cursal Prebendary, to a supernumerary canonry, with a promise of succession to the next actual vacancy, but with no present emolument, on condition that he should perform the duties of residence on behalf of all the rest.[t] Whether the necessary duties of the Cathedral would not be more earnestly and efficiently performed by one perpetual, than by half a dozen occasional residents, is a question into which we do not feel ourselves called upon to enter; but it is evident that, in that case, it would be at once a less complicated and a more economical proceeding to remunerate him with one competency in possession, than with the reversion of one of three sinecures.

and sinecurism;

The sinecurism, and consequently the non-residence of the canons, had been promoted by the cessation of anything like a distribution of administrative functions. The Precentor had ceased to be "Rector Chori," except in name: the Chancellor had no longer any disciplinary or educational office: the financial duties of the Treasurer, except in one or two merely formal matters, had ceased. The Precentor was indeed *ex officio* president of the Chapter, an office unsuccessfully claimed against him by Bishop Field, in 1630.[u] But it was an easy task to preside over a body which never met together excepting once a year to audit their accounts, and once in four or five years to listen respectfully to His Sacred Majesty's *congé-d'-élire*, and then, after mature but impotent deliberation, to act upon it. Still in the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, when the Chapter had more of a substantive unity than in later times, the presidency must have been more of a reality. At all events it was vigorously debated upon whom it should devolve in the absence of the Precentor. For a long time that dignitary was allowed to appoint his "Debite," who appears most commonly to have been the Chancellor of the church. But in 1621 it was finally settled that in the Precentor's absence the presidency rightly devolved on the senior canon residentiary present, without regard to the dignitaries, or to any nomination of the Precentor.[v] It may be added that the residentiaries to this day rank according to the date of their admission to residence, the first place being reserved for the Precentor, now the Dean. The Precentor latterly received the titular prefix of a Dean, and sat in the Lower House of Convocation *ex officio*.

[t] Reg. H. p. 414. [u] Reg. D. p. 112. [v] Reg. C. p. 93.

CHAP. VII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND SEE.

Another question arose in the seventeenth century affecting the relations of the Upper and Lower Chapters. It has been stated that the vicars were originally regarded as *bonâ fide* the deputies, and were probably in the first instance the nominees, of individual canons. It was expressly provided by the statute of David Martyn (1301)[a] that the Precentor should nominate his vicar. Roland Meyrick Bishop of Bangor, Prebendary of Treflodyn,[b] and Precentor Huet,[c] had exercised the right without question. Yet in the year 1626 Richard Middleton, Archdeacon of Cardigan, presented a vicar, who was formally installed by the Subchanter. The Chapter appealed to Bishop Laud, who quashed the appointment.[d] From that time the nomination has been vested in the Upper Chapter collectively. But within the present century Bishop Burgess claimed and exercised the right of appointing his own vicar. Still the vicars continued to be inducted into the stalls of particular canons:[e] and the same remark applies to even the choristers and subdeacons.[f] The latter class, at least in the form which they then took, came into existence after the Reformation; nor is it easy to make out their exact position: sometimes they appear as identical with the choristers, sometimes they are distinct from them: they are sometimes laymen, sometimes in Holy Orders.[g] Appointments occur as late as 1741.[h]

Nomination of Vicars;

Subdeacons;

It is satisfactory to be able to record a deed of the Cathedral body which proves that even in their least satisfactory days, they were ready to act collectively for the common good, and occasionally found a better occupation than manœuvring their elections, dividing their revenues, evading residence, or averting or avenging the penalties denounced upon them by offended prelates. In 1662 they bound themselves for twenty-one years to pay an annual pension of £30 to Jesus College, Oxford, for the maintenance of one Fellow or two Scholars.[i] The benefaction was accepted by the College in the latter form;[k] and was finally discontinued in 1718.[l] At a somewhat earlier period a provision, however scanty, was made for the religious instruction of the people more immediately under their charge. It was then ordered (in 1625)[m] that six Welsh sermons be preached yearly.[n] These, however, were probably in addition to the ordinary ministrations of the curate of the parish.

Pensions to Jesus College, Oxford;

Welsh Sermons;

[a] Lib. Stat. p. 144. [b] See above, p. 338, *Note*. [c] Reg. B. p. 160. [d] Reg. D. p. 7.
[e] Reg. D. p. 7. [f] Reg. A. p. 272. [g] Reg. H. p. 158. [h] *Ibid.*
[i] Reg. E. p. 36. [k] *Ibid.* pp. 121–123. [l] Reg. G. p. 134. [m] Reg. D. p. 30.

It only remains to state the changes effected in the constitution of the Cathedral body by recent legislation.

Changes in the Constitution of the Chapter by 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, and 6 & 7 Vict. c. 77.

By the Statute 3 & 4 Victoriæ, c. 113, it was enacted that the Chapter should consist thenceforward of a Dean and Canons, the existing Precentor then taking the style of Dean.[1] The Canons were to be two in number,[2] and were to be "instituted or licensed, as the case may be, to the cure of souls in the parish of St. David."[3] But by the "Welsh Cathedral Act" it is enacted that there be four Canonries residentiary, such Canonries to be in the direct patronage of the Bishop,[4] and unconnected with the cure of souls in the parish,[5] instead of which two of them are to be annexed to two of the Archdeaconries in the diocese.[6] The income of the Dean is fixed at £700 *per annum*; that of the Canons at £350.[7] The separate endowments of the stalls are taken away, and consequently the non-residentiary prebends are deprived of all emoluments.[8] The Vicars Choral, now called Minor Canons, are to be appointed by the Chapter, in such numbers that their stipend shall not fall below £150 *per annum*, provided that there be never more than six, nor less than two.[9] They are not to hold any benefice at a greater distance than six miles from the Cathedral.[10] The Dean is to reside eight months, and the Canons three months in each year.[11] The Cathedral foundation is at present in a transitional state, the provisions of these Acts having been as yet only partially carried out. Although the result of the first Act, in the English Cathedrals, has been to a certain extent to perpetuate existing abuses, there can be no doubt that its influence in the case of St. David's will be more beneficial. The general neglect of residence on the part of the so-called residentiaries, to which more than to any other cause the Cathedral owes its decay, and against which its ordinances were unable to protect it, can never again be seen. Yet something remains to be done, both here and elsewhere. To what extent the present condition of the Cathedrals may be regarded as approaching to an ideal one, it is not our business to pronounce; but it is evident from the present tone of public opinion that the recent alterations cannot be looked upon as final.

[1] Stat. 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, § 1.
[2] Stat. 6 & 7 Vict. c. 77, § 2.
[3] Stat. 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, § 66.
[4] *Ibid.* § 46.
[5] *Ibid.* § 19.
[6] *Ibid.* § 5.
[7] *Ibid.* § 23.
[8] *Ibid.* § 3
[9] *Ibid.* § 38.
[10] *Ibid.* § 3.
[11] *Ibid.* § 45.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LIST OF BISHOPS, DIGNITARIES, AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

BISHOPS.[a]

[601]	David		Samson	1147	David Fitz-Gerald
	Cynog		Ruelin	1176	Peter de Leia
	Teilo	[961][c]	Rhydderch	1204	Geoffrey de Henelawe
	Ceneu		Elwin	1215	Iorwerth *alias* Gervase
	Morfael		Morbiw	1230	Anselm de la Grace
	Haerwnen	873	Llunwerth	1248	Thomas Wallensis
	Elwaed	944	Eneuris	1256	Richard de Carew
	Gwrnwen		Hubert	1280	Thomas Beck
	Llunwerth		Ivor	1293	David Martyn
	Gwrgwyst	[999]	Morgeneu	1328	Henry de Gower
	Gwgan		Nathan	1347	John Thoresby
	Clydawg		Ieuan	1350	Reginald Brian
	Eineon		Arwystl	1353	Thomas Fastolfe
	Elfod	[1023]	Morgeneu	1361	Adam Houghton
	Ethelman	1023	Ervin	1389	John Gilbert
	Elanc	1039	Trahaearn	1397	Guy Mone
	Maelsgwyd	[1061]	Joseph	1408	Henry Chicheley
[831]	Sadwrnfen	1061	Bleiddud	1414	John Catterick
	Cadell	1071	Sulien	1415	Stephen Patrington
	Sulhaithnay	1076	Abraham	1418	Benedict Nicholls
840[b]	Novis	1078	Sulien (again)	1433	Thomas Rodburne
	Idwal	1088	Rhyddmarch	1442	William Lyndwood
	Asser	1096	Griffri	1447	John Langton
	Arthwael	1115	Bernard	1447	John Delabere

[a] The Catalogue of early Bishops is taken from Giraldus, the orthography being corrected in a few instances.

[b] The date prefixed to each name denotes the year of accession, where it can be made out with any degree of probability. When the date is inclosed in brackets, it gives the earliest year in which the name of the individual occurs.

[c] See above, p. 266.

1460	Robert Tully	1615	Richard Milbourne	1742	Edward Willes
1482	Richard Martin	1621	William Laud	1743	Hon. Richard Trevor
1483	Thomas Langton	1627	Theophilus Field	1752	Anthony Ellis
1485	Hugh Pavy	1635	Roger Mainwaring	1761	Samuel Squire
1496	John Morgan	1660	William Lucy	1766	Robert Lowth
1505	Robert Sherborne	1677	William Thomas	1766	Charles Moss
1509	Edward Vaughan	1683	Laurence Womack	1774	Hon. James Yorke
1523	Richard Rawlins	1686	John Lloyd	1779	John Warren
1536	William Barlow	1687	Thomas Watson	1783	Edward Smallwell
1548	Robert Ferrar	1705	George Bull	1788	Samuel Horsley
1554	Henry Morgan	1710	Philip Bisse	1793	Hon. William Stuart
1559	Thomas Young	1713	Adam Ottley	1800	Lord George Murray
1561	Richard Davies	1723	Richard Smallbrooke	1802	Thomas Burgess
1582	Marmaduke Middleton	1730	Elias Sydall	1825	John Banks Jenkinson
1594	Anthony Rudd	1731	Nicholas Claggett	1840	Connop Thirlwall

PRECENTORS.[1]

1224	Richard	1486	Richard Machen	1677	John Ellis
	W———	1492	John Howell	1693	Charles Pryse
[1237]	Philip	1509	Lewis ap Rhys	1696	Hugh Powell
[1254]	Richard Pue	1534	Thomas Lloyd	1717	John Davies
[1287]	John de Swinesey	1547	Thomas Young	1733	John Pember
[1300]	Thomas Barry	1554	Morgan Phillips	1735	Joseph Hill
1328	Richard de Musselwick	1558	Thomas Young	1753	John Morgan
[1334]	David Barret	1560	Thomas Huett	1774	John Jekyll
1339	Adam Houghton	1591	Roger Gyfforde	1777	Francis Wollaston
[1352]	David Ley	1596	William Hinton	1816	Richard Richardson
[1399]	John Noke	1631	Griffith Higgs	1839	Llewelyn Lewellin; assum
1413	Thomas Wollaston	1660	William Thomas		the title of Dean
1437	Hugh ab Owen	1663	Richard Watson		1840

CHANCELLORS.

1287	Thomas de Gurney	[1339]	David Barret	1426	Richard Wogan
[1326]	David Francis	[1389]	John David	1487	John ap Howel
[1332]	John Gome	1406	John Cole	1487	Lewis Johnes
1334	John Francis	[1421]	David ap Rhys	1489	John Denbey

[1] We give the lists of Dignitaries and Prebendaries from Yardley, as far as the middle of th eighteenth century, and from the Cathedral Registers from thence to the present time. The latt have never been very carefully kept, so that even the later part of our Catalogues may be inaccurat We have corrected both with the help of Le Neve's *Fasti* (Ed. Hardy), and have referred to that wor in each case, as we wish to avoid committing ourselves to the accuracy of its statements. Havin found it in error where we have been able to test it, we cannot tell to what extent it may have misle us where we have not.

Archæologia Cambrensis, Second Series, IV. p. 71. Le Neve, I. p. 319.

[1492] John Talley
[1509] William Stradling
1539 Edward Popeley
1550 Rowland Meyrick
[1554] David Powell
1570 John Watkins
1571 Richard Edwards
1600 Roger Rudd
1605 Henry Aisgill
1614 William Aubrey[g]
1622 Richard Baily
1626 Rees Prichard
1644 Evan Owen
1662 Richard Lucy
1690 William Needham
1727 John Walker
1741 David Lloyd
1748 Thomas Burton
1749 Thomas Pardo
1753 John Morgan
1776 Thomas Roger du Quesne
1793 William Probyn
1825 William Hewson
1845 Edmund Melvill

TREASURERS.

1259 Philip
[1278] Adam Barret
1278 Robert de Haverford
1280 William de Burreche
1282 John de Barry
[1287] William de Barry[h]
[1332] David Barret
[1334] John de Crickhowel
[1339] Philip de Crickhowel
[1342] Walter de Trevine
[1364] William Worth
1364 David Vaughan
[1392] Lewis Aber
1398 Roger Basset
[1421] Roger de Bottall
1437 John Shipton
[1493] Owen Pole
1510? John Griffith
[1525] John Lewis
1541 Hugh Price
1574 Thomas Lloyd
1612 Michael Angell
1613 John Johnson
1616 William Slatyer
1647 William Slatyer, jun.
1660 William Owen
1661 William Slatyer, jun. again[i]
1668 Spencer Lucy
1691 Edmund Meyrick
1713 Robert Clavering
1724 Fuller Bowles
1743 John White
1746 James Tunstall
1762 Robert Twyford
1776 Philip Cocks
1797 Richard Raikes
1823 Charles Phillips
1853 William Richardson

ARCHDEACONS.

ST. DAVID'S.

[1128] William
[1180] Poyntz
[1222] Hugh de Cluna
[1234] Jordan de Trismont
[1239] A———
[1254] Richard
[1280] Peter Quivil
1280 Robert de Haverford
[1305] Jordan
[1319] Philip
[1323] Henry de Gower
1328 David Francis
1334 Philip de Caunton
1339 John Francis
[1347] John Fawkes[i]
1349 John Gough[j]
[1366] Adam Rokeleyn
[1399] John de Bowland
1400 John Hiot
1420 John Thomas
1420 Edmund Nicoll
1421 William Riley
1421 Roger Bottall
[1424] William Pentyrch
1434 William Thame
[1459] John Hunden
1482 David Williams
1491 John Denbey
149– John Hill
1500 Thomas[k] Saynt
1514 John Vaughan
1528 Andrew Whitmay
[1534] Cardinal Andras[l]
[1540] Richard Fetherston
[1557] Richard Hartorde
1557 John Pratt[m]
1607 Robert Rudd[n]
1644 Hugh Lloyd
1666 Anthony Jones
1678 George Owen[o]
1690 John Medley
1731 Walter Morgan
1732 Arthur Williams
1737 Richard Davies
1750 Thomas Burton
1768 Charles Moss
1805 Ralph Churton
1833 Thomas Bevan

[g] Le Neve, I. p. 319.
[h] Otherwise "De Orleans."—*Ibid.* p. 317.
[i] *Ibid.* p. 308.
[j] *Ibid.*
[k] Or "Richard."—*Ibid.* p. 309.
[l] *Ibid.*
[m] Elected Residentiary, 1566.
[n] Elected Residentiary, 1608.
[o] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1678.

BRECON.

[1135] Elias
[1150] Jordan
1175 Gerald de Barry
1203 William de Barry
[1226] Osbert
[1254] John
[1259] Roger de Christchurch
[1274] John de Fekeham
1274 Henry de Villanloft
1278 Adam Barret
[1320] Philip ap Hywel
[1345] Gruffydd ap Rhys
1389 Morgan ab Eineon
1408 Richard Guildford
1408 Roger Stafford
1410 William Farringdon
[1421] Robert Montgomery
1437 Llewelyn ap Madoc, *alias* Lewis Rede
1437 Robert Cherbury
1437 David Cherbury
[1497] William Thomas
[1504] William Walter
1523 Richard Fetherston
1534 Richard Gwent
1543 Thomas Wogan
[1553] John William
1554 John Blaxton
1559 George Constantine
1559 William Downham[p]
1560 Walter Jones
1567 William Blethin
1577 Andrew Vaen
1619 Isaac Singleton
1643 William Nicholson[q]
1671 Timothy Halton[r]
1704 Roger Griffith
1708 Joseph Stephens[s]
1736 Thomas Payne
1758 Thomas Evnon
1763 Edward Edwardes
1805 Richard Davies[t]

CAERMARTHEN.

[1140] William
[1198] Osbert
[1259] Tancred
[1283] Maredudd ap Gwrwared
1283 John de Alderby
1300 Gilbert de Musselwick
[1329] Walter Wynter
[1334] Griffith de Caunton
1347 John Clyewe[u]
1357 Hywel ap Dafydd Vychan
[1368] William Baldwin
[1389] William Nicoll
[1399] Edmund Warham
1408 William Chicheley
1412 William Newport
[1432] William Pyrrie
[1470] Geoffrey Caunton
[1482] Richard Keyr
1488 John Morgan
1493 Henry Powell
1509 Edward ap John
[1535] Griffith Leyson
1543 John Barlow
[1549] George Constantine
1554 William Lewson
1583 Meredith Morgan[v]
1612 John Williams
1614 William Beely
1660 William Jones[w]
1677 Thomas Staynoe[x]
1708 Edward Tenison
1727 Thomas Tenison
1742 Rice Williams
1767 Charles Moss
1768 George Holcombe
1789 William Probyn
1793 William Crawford
1827 Benjamin Millingchamp
1829 Henry Thomas Payne
1831 Edward Owen
1832 Richard Venables

CARDIGAN.

[1149] David Fitz-Gerald
[1163] Cadifor ab Daniel
[1203] Maurice
[1226] Maredudd
1228 Gruffydd ab Maredudd
1240 Gruffydd
[1254] Hywel
1255 Hugh
[1283] Owen ab Gruffydd
[1305] John Simons
[1331] Hywel ab Gruffydd
[1354] Philip Vaughan
1355 Griffith de Caunton
[1368] Philip de Caunton
[1399] Richard de Caunton
1401 John Cole
1406 Henry Gardiner
1407 Roger de Bottall
[1420] Nicholas Clifton
1420 William Canon
1424 John Turbut
[1432] John ab Rhys
[1453] Maurice Wynter
1454 John William
[1487] Lewis ab Owen
1487 Thomas Powell
[1535] John Lunteley
[1547] Hugh Matthew
1551 John Butler
1563 Peregrine David
1568 Lewis Gwyn
[1592] Richard Middleton
[1610] John Williams[y]
1629 Thomas Brand
1660 Edward Vaughan[z]
1668 William Owen[a]
1680 John Williams
1701 John Shore
1713 Owen Evans
1720 John Parry
1727 Edward Welchman
1739 Edward Yardley
1770 Thomas Vincent
1798 John Williams
1814 Thomas Beynon
1833 John Williams
1835 John Williams

[p] Le Neve, I. p. 311.
[q] Elected Residentiary, 1660.
[r] Elected Residentiary, 1668.
[s] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1709; (Actual), 1712.
[t] Elected Residentiary, 1806.
[u] Le Neve, I. p. 313.
[v] Elected Residentiary, 1585.
[w] Elected Residentiary, 1660.
[x] Elected Residentiary, 1681.
[y] Le Neve, I. p. 315.
[z] Elected Residentiary, 1660.
[a] Elected Residentiary, and resigned the same day, 1668: elected again (Supernumerary), 1668 (Actual), 1677.

PREBENDARIES.

MATHREY.

[1175] Jordon
1175 Gerald de Barry
1203 William de Barry
[1291] William de Middeshall
1361 John de Buckingham
1388 Thomas More
1389 William de Cottingham
1406 John Hayward
1412 William Chicheley
1426 Edmund Nicoll
1426 John Carpenter
1431 David Pryce
1438 Andrew Holes
1458 Robert Stillington
[1496] John Samson
1496 William Wall
[1504] Griffith Padarne
[1517] Robert Chapel
1517 William Vaughan
[1542] Thomas Barlow
1558 Thomas Barlow
1575 Roger Bradshawe[b]
1612 Morgan Walter[c]
1622 William Robinson
1642 Thomas Prichard
1646 Jeremy Taylor
1660 Thomas Owen[d]
[1714] Council Williams[e]
1719 Henry Cremer
1723 Richard Davies
1746 Thomas Williams
1784 Samuel Rogers[f]
1807 Thomas Philipps
1820 Thomas Stonehewer Bright
1841 Edmund Melvill
1848 Thomas Watts

CLYDEY.

[1353] Richard de Garland
[1361] John Swansea
1389 Matthew Hanmer
[1399] Thomas Picton
1403 Robert Rawlyns
1416 Robert Merflete
1426 Richard Newport
1434 John Delabere
[1502] John Wigmore
1502 Lewis ap Rhys
1509 William Vaughan
1517 Maurice Glyn
[1539] John Spendlove
1554 John ap Howell
1558 John Spendlove (again)
1568 Richard Meredith
1574 Thomas Wynne
1577 Jarson Davies
1589 Richard Harries
1611 Thomas Harries
1622 Morgan Owens[g]
1644 John Griffith
1665 Timothy Halton
1671 George Brereton
1673 William Halton
1688 John Medley
1691 Charles Pryse
1694 Henry Powell
1731 Charles Powell
1752 Thomas Davies
1789 Charles Symonds
1826 William Morgan[h]
1830 James Robertson Holcombe
1847 William Beach Thomas

ST. NICHOLAS.

1390 John Bodilly
[1397] Nicholas Hereford
1397 Robert Warmington
1399 John Launce
1405 John Hayward
1410 William Hodnet
1431 Richard Hore
1436 John Blodwell
[1490] William Wilcock
[1501] Richard Rayader
1534 Lewis Gwyn
[1541] Thomas Hodgeson
[1564] Henry Nicolas
1568 Henry Holland
1608 Roger Rudd
1617 Leonard Milborne[i]
1621 Jenkin Vaughan
1628 John Watkins
1648 Michael Berwicke
1669 Andrew Holdip
1676 Thomas Staynoe
1677 Griffith Hatley
1684 David Lloyd
1695 Hugh Powell
1697 William Williams
1714 Council Williams
1719 John Davies
1741 James Evans
1752 Henry Rowe
1780 William Holcombe
1796 Charles Pigott Pritchett
1813 Delabere Pritchett[j]
1842 Nathaniel Davies

LLANGAN.

1328 Thomas Hacket
[1366] John de Ace
1386 Robert de Whitney
[1388] Hugh Young
[1396] Walter Brugg
1396 Thomas Sprott
[1406] John Barry
1406 John Cole
1413 John Scott
1436 Andrew Holes
1438 Nicholas Wymbysch
[1491] John Bell
1491 William Wilcock
[1504] Geoffrey Howell
[1514] William Atwater
1514 Maurice Adams
[1535] Richard Rawlins
1552 Thomas Huicke
1567 Griffith Toye
1601 Michael Angell
1609 Henry Griffith
[1640] Thomas Griffith
1660 Samuel Edwards
1677 Edmund Meyrick[k]

[b] Elected Residentiary, 1590.
[c] Elected Residentiary, 1613.
[d] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1661: (Actual), 1668.
[e] Le Neve, I. p. 320.
[f] Elected Residentiary, 1787.
[g] Elected Residentiary, 1622.
[h] Le Neve, I. p. 323.
[i] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1620.
[j] Le Neve, I. p. 322.
[k] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1681.

1688 James Bowen
1701 John Pember
1733 Thomas Pardo
1749 Roger Davies
1751 Richard Davies
1797 John Jones
1820 William Richardson

LLANDDEWI ABERARTH.

[1366] Robert Mason
[1389] Thomas Dunelent
1389 John Sampon
1397 John Middleton
1424 Philip Davy
[1488] William Eliot
[1501] William Wilcock
1502 John Vaughan
[1535] Richard Gwent
1543 Roger Williams
[1546] Thomas Powell[k]
1586 David Evans
[1604] —— Kymyk
1604 Henry Johns
1611 Henry Lloyd
1640 John Price
1643 Henry Melding
1665 John Collins
1687 Nicholas Roberts
1707 Charles Brent[l]
1729 James Brookes
1763 John Pardo
1777 William Higgs Barker
1816 Eliezer Williams
1820 Daniel Bowen
1848 Edward Harold Browne
1850 James Griffith

CAERFARCHELL.

[1389] William Pilgrim
1389 Gilbert Nicholl
[1400] Richard Leintwardine
[1427] Henry Webb (?)
[1486] Henry Shalston
1486 Lewis Johns
1487 William Neel
[1535] Morgan Lewis
1554 Gilbert Potter
1556 John Gwynne
1570 Lewis Williams
1614 Thomas Philipps
1621 Thomas Prichard[m]
1643 Evan Owen
1644 David James
1682 Thomas Gamage
1704 Edward Cuthbert[n]
1742 John Williams[o]
1780 John Roberts
1803 Richard Davies
[1805] James Thomas[p]
1805 Thomas Stonehewer Bright
1820 Thomas Hancock[q]
1825 William Hewson[r]
1825 George Harries

TREFLODYN.

1433 Thomas Rodburne
1480 David Williams
1482 John Hunden
[1487] Alexander King
1487 William Eliot
1487 Richard Hill
1489 Richard Geoffrey
1490 John Barrett
[1504] John Griffith
[1541] Rowland Meyrick[s]
1554 John Hughes
1559 Rowland Meyrick
1566 Lewis Gwyn
1569 Thomas William
[1604] David Roberts
1605 Hugh Jones
1630 Roger Prichard
1644 Thomas Edwards
1666 John Edwards
1704 John Halton[t]
1708 Henry Owens[u]
1712 Thomas Fletcher
1713 Thomas Philipps
1748 Thomas Williams[v]
1787 Owen Parrott Edwards
[1814] John Williams[w]
1814 Charles Philipps
1824 David Bird Allen
1832 Charles Griffiths

CAERFAI.

[1389] Richard Bokylton
1389 John Hiot
1400 John de Bowland
1400 Robert Tunstall
1426 William Hawkesworth
1426 William Thame
1434 Richard Newport
[1504] Richard Carswell
[1539] William Venor
[1541] Stephen Green
1554 Henry Goddarte
[1564] Henry Mantell
1585 Richard Huett
1611 Richard Huett
1614 Lewis Lewis
1660 Thomas Powell
1661 William Jones
1688 James Bowen
1691 Arnold Bowen
1705 Alexander Ford[x]
1723 Arthur Laugharne
1752 Owen Evans
1767 Thomas Davies
1777 John Rogers
1796 Thomas Beynon[y]
1796 Thomas Bowen
1817 Richard Evans
1834 William Watts Harries

FIRST CURSAL.

The Crown.

SECOND CURSAL.[z]

[1398] Gilbert Nichol
1398 Thomas Aylward
1413 Roger Herne

[k] Elected Residentiary, 1571.
[l] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1713; (Actual), 1723.
[m] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1629.
[n] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1708; Actual, 1709.
[o] Elected Residentiary, 1742.
[p] Le Neve I. p. 322.
[q] *Ibid.*
[r] *Ibid.* p. 323.
[s] Elected Residentiary.
[t] Elected Residentiary, 1705.
[u] Elected Residentiary, 1709.
[v] Elected Residentiary, 1751.
[w] Le Neve, I. p. 322.
[x] Elected Residentiary, 1708.
[y] Le Neve, I. p. 322.
[z] In the case of the second and third Cursal stalls we have not been able to recover the succession during the eighteenth century so completely as to state with certainty whether the two lists of incum-

1426 William Perry
[1434] William Rose
1435 John Waldbeof
[1436] Thomas Young
1436 John Shipton
1437 Roger Bottal
1439 William Fallon
[1504] David Webb
[1539] John Parry
[1554] John Gwyn
1554 William Davies
1580 Richard Meredith
1592 Philip Jones
1609 William Watkins
1610 Thomas Pontan
1628 John Edwards
1633 Walter Watkins
1643 William George
1671 William Lloyd
1675 Thomas Staynoe
1677 Owen Griffith
1688 Walter Howell
1696 Rice Howell
1716 Henry Cremer
1719 Walter Howell
1732 Richard Davies[a]
1737 John Holcombe
1765 John Harries[b]
1770 William Harries
1782 John Jordan
1808 Benjamin Millingchamp
1827 Llewelyn Lewellin
1847 James Allen

THIRD CURSAL.

John Carpenter
[1437] John Major
[1482] David William
1482 John Hunden
[1485] William Elliot
1487 Richard Hill
1487 David Wogan
[1539] Edward Pinson
1567 William Griffith
[1589] Richard Middleton
1589 Laurence Robinson
[1608] Henry Fisher
1617 Isaac Singleton
1620 Morgan Owens
1626 William Hayward
1663 Anthony Jones
1667 John Cruso
1682 George Lewis
1709 David Havard
[1749] Edward Jones[c]
?? David Price[d]
[1770] William Holcombe[e]
1780 Richard Davies[f]
1805 Moses Grant
1810 Henry Thomas Payne[g]
1829 Alfred Ollivant

FOURTH CURSAL.

[1398] Richard Deepdale
1398 Thomas Abbot
1400 William Stynetle
1407 John Giles
[1426] Richard Wogan
1426 David Price
1431 John Carpenter
1437 Robert Montgomery
1438 Richard Caunton
[1504] David, Abbot of Talley
[1544] John Oliver
[1560] William Young
[1572] David Yale
1626 John Price
1641 William Jones
1661 Thomas Griffith
1678 John Williams
1681 Richard Smith
1717 Charles Price
1719 Richard Davies
1723 Morgan Griffith
1724 Thomas Pardo[h]
1733 Roger Davies
1749 Theophilus Rice
1786 John Thomas
1793 John Williams[i]
1848 William North

FIFTH CURSAL.

[1398] Richard Heath
1398 John Hayward
[1402] Richard Peter
1402 Thomas Standen
[1426] Alexander Sparrow
1426 John Bryacke
1447 Richard Ewen
[1501] William Jones
[1539] David ap Howell
[1557] John Frenche
[1560] Richard Hughes
[1571] William Constantine
1571 Hugh Panton
[1592] Daniel Donne
1634 Robert Pritchard
[1666] John Collins
1666 John Williams
1680 Thomas Bevans
1707 Richard Pritchard
1730 James Jones
1733 Joseph Hill
1735 Henry Rowe
1752 Josiah Tucker
1800 John Williams[j]
1848 John Jones
1852 John Hughes

bents, prior to 1770, belong to the stalls to which we have assigned them, or whether they ought to change places. From 1770, the prebendaries are correctly assigned, although the catalogues are probably incomplete.

[a] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1736: (Actual), 1739.

[b] Succeeded either John Holcombe, or David Havard. See the list of the third Cursal stall. Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1765.

[c] Succeeded either David Havard, or John Holcombe. See the list of the second Cursal stall. Elected Residentiary, 1749.

[d] Succeeded Edward Jones in either this or the second Cursal stall.

[e] Elected Residentiary, 1780. [f] Elected Residentiary, 1789. [g] Elected Residentiary, 1814.

[h] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1729: (Actual), 1736. [i] Elected Residentiary, 1796.

[j] Elected Residentiary, 1804.

SIXTH CURSAL.

[1401] John Porter
1401 John Davy
1406 Robert Brown
1406 John Grandon
1406 Robert Brown
[1408] Thomas Guleesfield
1408 Robert Burgess
[1427] Thomas Bateman
1427 John Flore
[1434] William Thame
1434 Richard Newport
1436 John Burdett
[1504] William Foxal
1539 John Barlow
[1558] Morgan Jones
1558 John Jones
[1564] Thomas Younge
1572 John Bowen
1594 Thomas Williams
1598 David Yale
1601 Robert Rudd
1608 Hugh Morgan
1622 Lewis Morgans
[1633] Jonathan Field[k]
1663 George Owens
1678 Michael Owen
1690 David Lloyd
1694 Hugh Powell
1696 Edward Gwyn
1717 Stephen Lewis[l]
1739 David Lloyd[m]
1741 George Holcombe[n]
1768 John Phillips
1795 Charles Pigott Pritchett
1796 John Jones
1821 Thomas K. Warren Harries

CURSAL OF AN UNCERTAIN STALL.

[1446] John Langton

CANONS OF UNKNOWN STALLS.

[*Circa* 1150] John
[*Circa* 1200] Richard
— Simon
— Robert
— Osbert
— Reginald Foliot
[1202] Martin
— Elidur ap Elidur
— Meyler
— Asser
— Samuel
— M——
— Richard ap Jonas
— H—— ap Richard
— G——
— Henry Roberts
[1203] William de Carmarthen
[1218] Pentecostus
— John ap Asser
— Walter
— Matthias
— Matthias de Brecon
— Walter Bartholomew
[1222] Nicholas ap Meyler
— Nicholas Samuel
[1223] William ap Martin
[1235] Matthias de Abrinai
— Nicholas Lombard
— William Perrot
[*Circa* 1250] David Cornubius[o]
[1253] Roger de Cantilupe, Preb. of Brawdy
[1254] Roger
— Robert de Pembroke
— Richard de Wrotham
— Alexander
— Richard de Burton
— Peter de St. David
— John de Whitchurch
— Thomas de Carvay
— Richard de Mora
— William de Christchurch
— Edward de Knowle
— Richard de Carew
[1259] Walter ap Cynon
— Eudes de Fluddebus
— Simon de Radnor
— Philip de Letterston
— John Hayward
[1278] Geoffrey de Argenton
— Thomas Beck
[1287] John Foke
— Richard Sutton
[1291] Thomas Barry
— William de Cardiff
— Richard de Brandon
— William de Bruen
— Thomas de Swenes
— William de Burnell
— Thomas de Golbestwyn
— David ap Gruffydd
— Robert de Veteri Terra
— Peter Lof
— John Lovell
— John Brun
[1292] David Martyn
— John de Alderby
[1293] Reginald de Branda
[1307] John Bush
?? Henry Gower
[1334] Thomas de Neath
— William Mey
— Walter Alexander
[1339] John Carman
— Simon Whitton
— Walter de la Halle
?? Reginald Brian
[1352] Richard de Clehonger
— Richard Vaughan
?? Adam Houghton
[1363] Michael Hayton
1363 Geoffrey Salyng
[1384] Hugh Picton
[1387] John Godmeston
[1389] William Russell
[1400] Richard Leintwardine
[1401] William More
[1427] Henry Webb
[1433] Thomas Rodburne[p]
[*Circa* 1460] Hugh ab Iolo[q]
[1479] John Vaughan
1539 Lewis Bowen

[k] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1633.
[l] Elected Residentiary (Supernumerary), 1723; (Actual), 1729.
[m] Elected Residentary (Supernumerary), 1739.
[n] Elected Residentiary, 1748.
[o] Archæologia Cambrensis, Second Series, iii. p. 259.
[p] Lewys Glyn Cothi, *Dosp.* IV. xxiv. 22.
[q] Witness to an instrument reciting a Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., 1479.—*Ecclesiastical Document* (Camden Society), p. 84.

SUBCHANTERS.

[1301] Robert de Treflodyn
[1504] Thomas Bacon
[1539] Stephen Green
[1556] Thomas Crane
[1571] Richard Edwards
[1601] Richard Mazock
[1622] Edward Beard
[1644] Nicholas Binks
1660 John Owens
1677 Peter Lewis
1713 Henry Goffe
1721 John Edwards
1743 Delabere Pritchett
1802 John Jones
1809 Francis Rees
1826 William Watts Harries
1840 James Propert Williams

MASTERS OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE.

[1387] Philip Wayte
[1389] William Eliot
[1406] Thomas Wollaston
[1418] John Adam
1437 Richard Caunton
1488 William Wilcock
1502 Richard Rayader
1524 John Lunteley
1542 Stephen Green

CHANCELLORS AND OFFICIALS OF THE DIOCESE.

[1184] Gerald de Barry
[1190] Hugo
[1190] Roger de Burghill
[1234] Hugo de Cluna
1349 Griffith de Caunton
[1351] John ap Gwilym
[1353] David Martin
[1397] Griffith Young
1399 William Gower
[1402] John Carmarthen
[1407] John Noke
1408 John Hiot
[1417] Philip David
1417 Philip Cradock
[1428] Thomas Wollaston
[1433] Richard Caunton
1438 Hugh Pavin
[1447] Griffith ap Nicholas
[1494] John Hill
[1510] William Vaughan
[1547] Thomas Young
1547 Rowland Meyrick
1549 Edward Farlee
[1550] Richard ap John Wynn
[1554] Lewis Baker
1576 Bishop Richard Davies
1578 Lewis Gwyn
[1596] William Aubrey
1607 Robert Rudd
1609 William Aubrey
1614 Thomas Aubrey
1666 John Cruso
1681 Henry Falconbridge
1713 Edward Jones
1736 Edward Jones
1753 Thomas Pardo
1763 Richard Beadon, Bishop of Bath and Wells
1824 George Wharton Marriott
1833 Augustus Pechell
1843 Edmund Melvill

No. II.

POPULATION OF ST. DAVID'S PARISH.

1715.

"In the Town there are about 78 small inhabited Houses, in which the Inhabitants, of all Sexes and Ages, are about 292.

"In the Valley or Close which adjoins to it, towards the North and West, are 13 Houses, Inhabitants 73.

"In *Cylch-fychan*, which lies Eastward of the Town, or the little Circle, are 38 Houses, Inhabitants 139.

"In *Gwaelod-o-Wlad*, or the Bottom of the Country, which lies to the West, are 79 Houses, Inhabitants 361.

"In *Cylch-Mawr*, or the great Circle, which lies towards the North, are 68 Houses, Inhabitants 338.

"So that by this Calculation, which was taken not very long ago, there are

In the Town	292	Souls, of all Ages and Sexes
In the Valley	73	
In *Cylch*-fychan	139	
In *Gwaelod-o-Wlad*.....	361	
In *Cylch-Mawr*	338	

"In all 1203 Souls, and 261 Houses, in the Parish of *St. Davids*; and yet the Town and Country is so healthy, that from *Easter*-Day, *viz. April* 17. 1715 to *Sept.* 14. 1715, there were but two bury'd, and one of them was very old."—*Browne Willis*, pp. 35, 36.

1720.

"A° 1720 a more exact acc[t] sent the number of Houses were 333 & of Souls 1530."—*MS. Note upon the above.*

1801.

Houses.			*Occupations.*			*Persons.*		
Inhabited.	Families.	Uninhabited.	Agriculture.	Trade, &c	Others	Males	Females	Total.
414	423	4	1237	89	477	871	932	1803

1811.

	Houses.				*Occupations.*			*Persons.*		
	Inhabited.	Families.	Building	Uninhabited.	Agriculture.	Trade.	Others.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Cylch Bychan	64	64	0	4	31	4	29	111	150	261
„ Gwaelod	103	105	0	0	98	5	2	196	231	427
„ Mawr	82	82	2	1	74	4	4	192	202	394
„ y Dref	188	190	1	0	146	35	9	304	430	734
	437	441	3	5	349	48	44	803	1013	1816

1821.

	Inhabited Houses.	*Inhabitants.*
Cylch Bychan	85	367
„ Gwaelod	91	483
„ Mawr	93	484
„ y Dref	214	906
	483	2240

	Houses.				*Occupations.*			*Persons.*		
	Inhabited.	Families	Building	Uninhabited.	Agriculture	Trade	Others	Males.	Females.	Total
Cylch Bychan	82	84	0	1	63	18	3	168	191	359
„ Gwaelod	89	90	1	2	88	2	0	244	268	512
„ Mawr	94	98	0	1	87	11	0	231	261	492
„ y Dref	238	241	2	4	164	59	18	440	585	1025
	503	513	3	7	402	90	21	1083	1305	2388

1851.

	Houses.			*Separate Occupiers.*	*Persons who slept in the place.*		
	Inhabited	Uninhabited.	Building		Males	Females	Total
Cylch Bychan	82	2	0	82	147	201	348
„ Gwaelod	81	0	0	81	211	234	445
„ Mawr	107	0	0	107	267	291	558
„ y Dref	268	4	6	274	460	637	1097
The Close	12	0	0	12	22	31	53
Ramsey Island	2	0	0	3	9	3	12
Total	512	6	6	519	1116	1397	2513

No. III.

TABLE OF CURSAL STIPENDS.

	£	s.	d.
The Bishop, Six at £2	12	0	0
Archdeacon of St. Davíd's	1	0	0
„ Brecon	1	0	0
„ Caermarthen	1	0	0
„ Cardigan	2	0	0
Prebendary of Mathrey	1	0	0
„ St. Nicholas	1	13	4
„ Clydey	1	13	4
„ Llanddewi Aberarth	1	13	4
„ Caerfai	1	13	4
„ Llangan	1	13	4
„ Caerfarchell	1	13	4
„ Trefilodyn	2	0	0
1st Cursal Prebendary (The Crown)	1	0	0
2nd „ „	2	6	8
3rd „ „	2	6	8
4th „ „	2	6	8
5th „ „	2	6	8
6th „ „	2	6	8
Præbenda Regis, to the Principal of Jesus College	3	0	0

No. IV.

LIBER COMMUNIS.[1]

Liber Comunis.

pro Sigillo Communi Cap. Men. Anno 1634.
2 5 0

Brerglys Well—ubi

for carrying 4 *cart load of sand to y^e church* 3^d
carriage of two cart load of stones from Curvei 2^d
pa 5

6^d ꝑ *diem for a cart*
4^d ꝑ *per diem for a horse*[2]
[1.][3]
—morand quod die Veneris in festo Johannis ante
—am latinam Hugo de Pikton juratus fuit in
—pervisum fabricæ Ecclesiæ menev. año Dni 1384.
—icata die secunda p^o idem festum viz. 15 die mensis
—aii per septimanam p'cedent' solut'
—vid Bole per 5 dies laborant in q^a^rell 15^d
—avid yrist per 5 dies 15^d
Jak Coco per 5 dies 15^d
John Gilbert Lord Treasurer
Jak Skynner ꝑ 3 dies 9^d *Byshop*
Pho Rosse ꝑ septimana 14^d
I^t eadem septimana pro ferro ad fac + wegges 12^d
I^t ll Syglo pro factura earundē & pro emendaciōe [aliorū
instrumentorū 8^d I^t uni hōii laboranti circa facturam
et emend p'dict' ꝑ 1 diem 3^d
pro 2 ferris novis pro —blīs 8^d
pro 1 Hatchett 8^d I^t pro factura barræ 2^d
ll Syglo pro lagat 1 schoul 1^d
Suña 9^s 2^d

Coicata 2^o die mensis maii ꝑ septim p'cedent
David Bole ꝑ 4^r dies 12^d
Johi Rowe ꝑ 4^r dies 12^d
—anyn Coko ꝑ 4^r dies 12^d
—ak Skynner ꝑ 4^r dies 12^d
—hó Rosse ꝑ septa 14^d
—illō ap ph. vawrer pro suo troclo ꝑ 4^r dies 2^s
—Siglo pro emend instrumentor 1^d
Suña 7^s 3^d
—oicata die ultima mensis Maii ꝑ sept p'cedent
—d Bole ꝑ 6 dies 18^d
—ōhi Rowe per tot. 18^d
—avin Coko — tot. 18^d
—— Skynner ꝑ tot. 15[4]
——ꝑ sept. 14^d
———Ph pro 1 trocho ꝑ 6 dies 3^s
———pro 1 trocho ꝑ 4^r dies eundi 2^s 3^d
—l Sigl ꝑ emend div^s. instrument 4^d
— Cementario pro factura 2 · 1^d
Suma 12^s 10^d
——ta die 5 menis Junii ꝑ sept p'cedente
—osse 4^d I^t 2 hōībus viz. DD yrist & Javin Coke [ꝑ 3 dies
——ndo Carbones a domo Archid de Kermerdyn - - - - - s
[2.] - - di
—Domum Joh Harold et le - - cim - -
9^d Suña 18^d
Suña 2^s 8—
Cōicata die 12 die mensis Junii / Maii ꝑ sept p'—
Johī Rosse 12^d Johi Skynner ꝑ 5 dies 15—
DD yryst ꝑ 5 dies 15^d Javyn Coke ꝑ 5 dies 15^d

[1] We have printed *in extenso* so much of this document as refers to the period before the Reformation. Some remarks on the earlier portion of these extracts will be found in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1854, p. 51.
[2] The passages in *italics* are notes of the copyist on the fly-leaf and margin.
[3] The numerals in brackets refer to the pages of the original.
[4] 15 is a correction for 18.

Thomas Draws p unu diem eundi 4d ob.
Willō ap Ph vawrer pro uno troclo p 5 dies 2s 6d
It ll Syglo p emend instrumentor. 1d
It pro uno Pykard pleno de lapidibus calcinis 22s
It pro careagio eorundē de Porkleyes vsus cimiterium Willō Kyldy 4s
19 Suma 33s 10d ob.
Cōica die mensis Junii p sept p'cedent.
Phō Rosse 14d Johi Skynner p 4r dies in Sabbō 14d
Johī Coke per tantos 14d Thome Draws p tantū 14d
Waltero ap DD p tantū 14d Willō vawer p uno troclo p tantū 2s 3d ll Syglo p emend instrum. 1d
Suma 8s 2d
—oicā 26. die mensis Junii p sept p'cedent—
Phō Rosse 14d Johi Skynner p 4r dies 12d
Thome Draws per tot. 12d Pho. Goch p tot 12d
Johī Coke p tot. 12d Gitto ap DD Thomas p tot [laboranti
in quarell et pro suo troclo 3s Willō vawrer
pro uno troclo p tot 2s ll Syglo p emendaciōe
instrument. 4d
Suma 10s 6
—ōicata die 3. mensis Julii p sept p'cedente.
Phō Rosse 14d Johi Skynner p 4 dies 12d Thomæ [tot 12d
Draws p tot 12d Pho Goch p tot 12d Johī Coke p[illegible]
Waltero ap DD p unū diem cum dimid 4d
Willō vawrer p uno troclo p unū diem cūm dimid 9d
ll Syglo pro factura - - - -[5] & uno sleggo [de novo 6d
et eidem pro emend diſsor. instrument. 2d
et pro uno pykard de lapidibus calcinis de Solvach 2
et pro cariagio eorundē 4s
It Goch Delyn p 2 diebus cum dimid 7d ob.
- - - - -
- - - - -
[3.]
Cōicata die 10a mensis Julii p sept p'cedente
—entarii
Willī Sayrer p sept 2s 2d Rys ap Wild p sept 2s 2d
Jo: Makmourch p 5. diebus 22d. Jen Degan p [sept 2s 2d
Rob ap Morgan p sept 2s 2d Rob Sydes p 5 dibs 22d
laboratores Phī Rosse p sept 14d Tho. Drawes p [sept 18d Ph. Coke
pro sept. 18d Goch Delyn p sept. 18d. DD [Kyogyn pro
5 diebus 15d Phs Goch p sept. 18d Janyn Bach [p 7 diebus 6d
DD bach pro 2. diebus 6d ll Syglo pro facturā clavorum & emend. instrumentor 3d Willō vawrir pro uno troclo p 4r dies 2s 3d It DD yryst pro factura 2 cibar de lapidibus calcinis 7s
It pro 1 lagena servisiæ hōibus iter tendentibus [Lynstulle 2d
Suma 31s 5d
Cōicata 17 die mensis Julii p sept p'cedente.
Pho Rosse p sept 14d. Janyn Coke p 6. dies 18s [DD bach
per tot 18d Willō vawrir pro suo troclo p tot 3s
Item Solvi Eadem Septimana. pro 15 polls meremii [ad
scaffold et 15 hoselstanes[?] de ybernia 3s 9d & pro cariagio eorundem de Porthglays ad Ecclām Menev. [2d
It eadem septimanā equitand ad Tenbygh pro [plumbo
& ferro emend ad usum Ecclæ men: pro uno equo locato per 3. dies. 12d In expensis eodem tempore [pro
se et equo suo 2s It eadem septim. pro factura 12 flakes pro la scaffold 2s It pro cariag eorundē 12d
It pro una cimba de lapidibus calcinis de 22s
It pro cariagio eorundem 4s It pro factura eorundē [3s 6
It eadem septim. pro 29 peicis 3s de ferro empto [apud Tynby
p'ciū cujuslibet peicii 7d ob. Suma 18s 3d
Pro plumbo p empto iisdem loco & tempore viz. 33 [peiciis
vjx p'tr 24s 9d Item pro carbonibus emptis XL [busc p'tii
cujuslibet 2d Suma vis xd Pro cariagio eorundem de Porthelevs ad cimiteriū 7s. It pro factura unius p bockets 2d
Suma iiijli xvij
Cōicata die 24 mensis Julii p sept p'cedente.
—rii Joh. Makmurch p 5. diebus 22d Willō [Sayrer p tot. 22d
Moris Sudys p tot. 22d Jen Degan p tot. 22d [Robyn ap
Moris 22d Wyl Stevene p tot. 22d Ryse ap Wili [p tot. 22d
—es Wylo Rugs per tot 22d Phūs Rosse p sept. [14d Jevyn Coke

[5] Word illegible.

pro sept 14d DD bach 5 diebus 5d Howel Perth
[p 4 diebs 12d
Phūs Goch—tot 12d Goch Delyn p tot 12d Alys
[Arthurus per
tot 12d—owen pro uno troclo—dies eundi 15d
[4.]
It pro uno troclo pro uno die cum dimid 9d
Il Syglo pro factura clavorū et emenda instrumentor
It eadem septim. pro 14 potts de meremii empt—
de Wille vysear de Kermerdyn 11s 8d It pro
[cariagio
eorundem de Portheleys ad Ecclām 5d
Suña 38sol
Cōicata die ultima mensis Julii pro sept p'cedent.
Cimentarii Joh: Makmurth pro 5 diebus 22d Wylī
[Sayrir p tot 22d
Robyn Sudys p tot 22d Jna Degan p tot 22d
[Robyn ap
Moris p tot 22d Wylī Selone p tot 22d Rys ap
[Wyld p tot
Laboratores 22d Phūs Rose p sept. 14d Janyn
[Coke p sept 18d DD bach
pro 4 diebus 12d Howell Porth p 4 diebus 12d
[Goch Delyn p tot
12d Elys Arthurus p tot 12d Tho: Drawys p tot
[12d Rogerus
Seys p 2 dies 6d Robertus Caxon p duos dies 6d
[Reydnerus Soket p unā diem iijd Goch Morydych p 1
[die 3d
Jena ap Owen pro uno troclo per 4r dies 2s DD---ñ
[pro
uno troclo per tot. 2s Il Syglo pro emend instrumen
torū & factura clavorū ad scaffold 2d
Suña 26s 2d
Cōicata die 7mo mensis August pro sept. p'cedent.
Cimentarii Joh. Makmony(r)ch p sept. 2s 2d Wylī
[Sayrir p. sept
2s 2d. Rys ap Wylī pro sept. 2s 2d Robin ap Moris p
sept. 2s 2d Wylō Stephani pro sept. 2s 2d Robin Sudys
pro sept. 2s 2d Jena Degan pro sept. 2s 2d
Laboratores Phō Rosse pro sept. 14d Janyn Coke
[p sept 18d Thomæ
Draw's p sept. 18d Howel Perth p sept. 18d Elys
Arthurus p sept. 18d Rogerus Seys p sept 18d
[Robertus
Cayon 18d Goch morydych p sept 18d Phūs
[Goch pro
sept. 18d Goch Delyn pro sept. 18d Jena p sept.
18d DD bach p sept 18d Wylo ap Ph. Vaur pro
[suo troclo
per 5 dies 2s 6d Jena ap Owyn pro 6 diebus unius
trocli 3s. It pro uno cribro novo iiijd It cimentariis
pro feodo viz. Archage 4d pro servisia Il S——
pro facturā clavorum et emend instrumen—
Suña 39s 2d
Cōicata die 14o mensis Augusti p septim p'ced—
Cimentarii Joh. Makmorth p sept. 2s 2d Robyn
[ap mo—
sept. 2s 2d Wyło sayrir pro sept. 2s 2d R———
Wyli pro sept. 2s 2d Wyli Stevens p — diebus—
Laboratores. Phō Rosse pro septim. 4d Jevyn
[Kock pro——
cum dimid 14d Goch Meridith per — 14d —
[5.]
Jena Dug[?] per tot 14d DD Bach p tot 14d Jena
[ap Owyn pro
uno troklo per 4. dies 2s Wyło ap Ph Vaur pro uno
troklo p 4 dies cum dimid 2s 3d Il Syglo pro emendače instrumentor' 1d
Suña 19s 6d
Cōicata die 21 mensis Augusti pro septimana
[p'cedente
Phō Rosse pro septimana 14d
Suña 14s
Cōicata die 28 mensis Augusti pro septim p'cedente.
Phō Rosse pro sept 14d It in expensis extra septim:
[equi
tand ad Haverford & Pembrock pro clavis et aliis
instrumentis et hengys & hokys faciend 18d
It pro uno equo locato eodē tempore p 3. dies 12d
It eadem septim pro cariagio 29 peiciis 3ꝛ ferri de
le angle usq Pembrock ad faciend p'dict Hengys & Hokis 6d
Suña 4s 2d
Cōicata die 4to mensis Septembris pro sept p'cedente
Opera infra ⟩ Johi Makmurch per sept facienti
Ecclam. ⟨ [scamna in capella
Sti Andreæ. 2s 2d Jak Hakker p. sept. 2s 8d
[Phō
Rosse pro sept. 14d Suña 6s
Cōicata die 11mo mensis Septembris pro sept
[p'cedentes
Infra ⟩ Jak Hakker p sept. 2s 8d Phō Rosse p
Ecclam ⟨ [sept. 14d
It eadem septimana circa tractura lapidū apud

[6] Illegible.

Barndy 4d pro servisia
Suña 4s 2d
Cõicata die 18mo mensis Septem. pro sept. p'cedente
Jak Hakker pro sept. 2s 8d Jõhi makmorth p sept
Infra } 2s 2d Pho Rosse pro sept. 14d It eadem
Ecclãm } [septimana
circa lapidum apud Barndy iiij d
It eadem septimana pro careagio iiij troclefull
arenæ adr Ecclãm 3d
Suña 6s 7d
Cõicata die 25 mensis Sept. pro sept. p'cedente
Jak Hakker pro sept. 2s 8d Jõhi Makmorth p
Infra Ecclãm [sept. 2s 2d
Phõ Rosse pro sept. 14d It eadem septimana Jena
ap Owyn pro careagio 2 troclefull lapidũ de
[Karvey 2d
It eadem septimana Jõhi Arthuro pro uno troclio
2. diebus cum dimid 15d cariando lapides de
[Karvey
et de quarell prope men. ad Ecclãm. It ll Sy—
pro factura 4 Hokes ad ostia de Loggys clerico—
factis de antiquo ferro de stauro Ecclæ 4d
uni homini flanti circa eandem 1d
Suña 7s 10d (?)
[6.]
Cõicata die 2do mensis Octobris p sept p'cedente.
Jak Hakker pro sept. 2s 8d Johi Makmorth p 2
Infra Ecclãm
dies 8d Pho Rosse p sept 14d It eadem septimana
pro 3 quartilibus ferri empti apud Ramsey 14s 6d
pro careagio ejusdem usqb ad Ecclãm 6d It ll Syglo
pro emendaõe instrumentor' p'dicti Jak Hakker per
[illas
quinqb septimanas 4d It Jõhi Arthuro pro uno
troclo per 2 dies 12d
Suña 20s 10d
Cõicata 9o die mensis Octobris pro septim. p'cedente.
Johi Makmorth pro sept. 2s 2d Pho Rosse p
[sept 14d
Johi Arthuro pro uno troclo per 3. dies ad cariand
de p'dicta quarell ad murum 18d It pro factura
2. ostiorũ pro cameris clericorum Johi Owyn &
[Buelth
18d It ll Syglo pro factura 4 hengys cum clavis
ad p'dicta ostia 6d Et 2. hõibus laborantibus 2d It
Johi Hakker in partem soluõis unius cept. 6s 8d
ll. Syglo pro emendaõe instrumentor' 1d It DD Hew
pro 200 lapid tabulent It Henri Fisher pro XL.
rostris (?)
It pro cariagio eorundem 12c
Suña 46s 9d
Cõicata 23 die mensis Octobris pro sept p'cedente
Jõhi Makmurth p sept. 2s 2d Pho Rosse p sept 14d
It eadem septimana Jen° Goch & DD Cappan pro 1
pikard de lapidibus calcinis 22s It eadẽ septim:
equitando ad Haverford & Pembrock pro negociis
Ecclæ fact circa div'sa in expensis suis et equi
locati per 3. dies 18d Et pro equo locato eodẽ
[tempore 12d
It pro careagio plumbi & Rosini de Langle ad
Pembrock eodem tempore It pro 2 seris novis
cum clavibus ad p'dicta ostia 16d It eadem septi
manâ pro duobus anulis novis cum clappis
ad p'dicta ostia 4d
Suña 30s 4d
Cõicata 30 die mensis Octobris pro sept. p'cedente.
Johi Hakker in ptem soluõis suæ taxæ viz: pro—
—a Ecclãm
Crostynk (?) de Leggs Clericor' solidi 6s 8d Jõhi
[Mak—
per septimanã operando 2s 2d Phõ Rosse pro sept—
It eadem septimana Robin Hoper pro caria——
[7.]
lapidium de Karvey ad Ecclãm 12d It eadem
[septim
4. hõibus laborantibus in le wynlas trahend
[sursum
p'dict lapides viz. per medietatẽ 9 dierũ 6d It pro 2
lagenis servisiæ expensis circa id factũ 4d
It ll Syglo pro emendaõe instrumentor' & 2 hengys
& 2 hokes ad ostiũ de la croyste cũ factura
clavorum 3d It p'dict ll. pro emendaõe serri & 1
clavo ad p'dict ostiũ 2d
Suña 12s 3d
Coiõata die 6to mensis Novembris pro sept. p'cedente
Infra Ecclãm
Johi Makmurth p 3 dies 13d Phõ Rosse p sept 14d
Suma 2s 5d
Cõicata 13. die mensis Novembr: pro sept. p'cedente
Christiano Glaziario emendand fenestram
magnã australem p sept per conventiõem factam
per morganũ ap Eynon 3s Jõhi Makmorth p sept.
2s 2d Janyn bach p sept. 15s Willõ ap Evnon per
duos dies 5d Pho Rosse p sept. 14d ll. Syglo pro
daõe instrumentor' 1d [emen-
Suma 2s 5d

[r] Ad is a correction for versus. Written over "capite." [s] MS. "wyncas."

Cõicata 20. die mensis Novembr: pro sept. p'cedente. Christiano Glaziatori per sept 3ˢ Jõhi Hakker in partem soluoĩs suæ taxæ[1] 3ˢ 4ᵈ Ienan bach per sept. in quarrell 15ᵈ Willõ ap Eynon p̃ sept in eadem 15ᵈ Pho Rosse p̃ sept 14ᵈ ll. Syglo pro factura clavorum et emendaõe serarum fractarũ [Ecclæ̃ per latrones 16ᵈ Pro 10 libris de chalch ad opus variũm Ecclæ empt apud Haverford 3ᵈ Iᵗ Buelth pro emendaõe ostii Thesaurariæ & positionũ 1 seri & factura 2 barrs ad alia ostia infra Ecclām viz. per unum diem 5ᵈ

Suma 12ˢ

Cõicata 27 die mensis Novembr. pro sept. p'cedente. Xtiano Glaziatori per sept. 3ˢ Johi Hakkero in taxæ [p'tem suæ capæ 3ˢ 4ᵈ Jako Lokyer p̃ septem seris novis cum clavibus fact Ecclæ̃ ad capam 15ˢ Iᵗ pro uno equo locato eund ad Haverford pro instrumentis [p'dictis Jak Lokyer et in expensis sui garcionis cũ p'dicto [equo 10ᵈ Iᵗ pro 1 peicea ferri cum dimid viz empt ad facturam clavium 10ᵈ Iᵗ 2 cementariis obstru- [entibus diu̇sas fenestras Ecclæ̃ propter pericula latronũ et [diu̇sa ostia viz: in alis Ecclæ̃ Robin Sydys p̃ sept 2ˢ 2ᵈ —ores Jenᵃ Degan per sept 2ˢ 2ᵈ Waltero Sudys —rvey [servienti per sept. 18ᵈ Phõ Rosse p̃ sept. 14ᵈ Janyn bach [p̃ sept. 15ᵈ Willõ ap Eynon p̃ sept. 15ᵈ DD Jon yrys(?) [p̃ sept. 15ᵈ Pro cariagio 4 trocliat arenæ ad p'dictum opus 4ᵈ

[8.]

Iᵗ Robin Hoper pro cariagio unius pikardi pleni de [lapidibus calcinis de Porthkleys ad cimiteriũ 4ˢ Iᵗ Jak Hakker pro factura unius col Trochi ad opus fabri 8ᵈ Iᵗ [eadem sept. pro 2. lagenis servisiæ expensæ circa tracturam lapidũ apud Karvey 4ᵈ Iᵗ Goch Delyn per 1 diem tractand apud Karvey eodem die 2ᵈ ob. pro 2 clavibs pro seris p'dictæ Ecclæ 3ᵈ

Suma 39ˢ viᵈ ob.

Cõicata 4ᵗᵒ die mensis decembr. pro sept. precedente Xtiano Glasiatori per sept. 3ˢ Phõ Rosse p̃ sept. 14ᵈ Iᵗ eadem septimana Stephano Rhyn (?) DD ap [marred et Robin ap Walter pro cariagio 3. carucatis de lignis focalibus de Porstyly 2ˢ Iᵗ Willõ ap Eynon secando [-ti] eadem ligna p̃ 1 diem 3ᵈ Iᵗ pro Willõ [pane & servisia expensis apud buscum eodem tempore 4ᵈ ob. Iᵗ Johĩ coker pro 6. burdis longis ad facturã osti borealis solvi 3ˢ 2ᵈ [Ecclæ̃

Suma 9ˢ 11ᵈ ob.

Cõicata 11ᵒ die mensis Decembr: pro sept p'cedente. Xtiano Glaziario p̃ sept. 3ˢ Jak Hakker in ptẽ [suæ capæ (taxæ) 6ˢ 8ᵈ Pho Rosse per sept. 14ᵈ Phõ Brõn labo- [ranti per 1 diem in quarell de Karvay 2ᵈ ob. Iᵗ pro potu [expenso eodem tempore 4ᵈ quia fuerunt ibidem 8 viri laborantes eodem die. Iᵗ Mʳᵒ Johi Carpentario pro 3. [sept: circa facturã ostiorũ Ecclæ capienti p̃ sept 4ˢ suma 12ˢ Iᵗ Bueclo pro 3. sept. capienti p̃ sept. 2ˢ 6ᵈ suma 7ˢ 6ᵈ pro 4. sept. circa capienti 2ˢ 6ᵈ p̃ sept. suma 10ˢ Iᵗ Jenkyn Oweyn circa eadẽ p̃ unã sept. & 4. dies [4ˢ 2ᵈ mri Jõhis p̃ 2. sept. & 4 dies circa— eadem capienti p̃ sept. 18ᵈ Suma 4ˢ Iᵗ ll. Sygl— pro factura clavorũ per 2. dies ad eadem ostia— Iᵗ 2 hõbus laborantibus cum illo circa illud p— 12ᵈ Iᵗ pro potu p'dict dictis diebus 2ᵈ in Le Forge

Suma 6ˢ 2ᵈ

[9.]

Coicata 25 die mensis Decemb. p̃ sept. p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario p̃ sept. 3ˢ Jak Hakker per 1 diem [fac— (?) ent duo foramina pro le barris ad ostium 9 [ducens aq— 6ᵈ Pho Rosse pro sept. 14ᵈ Jak Lokyer pro [factura— 4ʳ hengys ad ostiũ boreale ecclæ̃ cũ clavibus— pertinent ad prædicta 20ᵈ Iᵗ uni laboranti se— per 3 dies 9ᵈ Iᵗ pro combustione carbonũ emptor— eadem septimana ad opus Ecclæ 20ˢ Iᵗ pro ca— gio eorundẽ 20ᵈ Iᵗ Jak Hakker pro per sept lapides ad opus Ecclæ apud Karvey s— tra pactũ suum 2ˢ Iᵗ Jak Lokyer pro 1 clave [nov— et emend seræ ad ostiũ Capellæ beatæ Mariæ 6ᵈ

[1] For "capæ."

It DD yryst vigiliis natalis Dñi p l diem Eccl̃am q[a] Rosse fuit alibi occupatus 2d ob.
Suma 31s 5d ob.
Cõicata 8vo die mensis Januarii pro sept. p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario per sept 3s It Bar p sept circa [p'dic— ostia 2s 6d It Buelth circa idem p sept 2s 6d Johi [Owen— p sept circa idem 2s 6d Jak Hakkero pro emen- arcus [daoe (alte rius) ostii ante altare Sti Thomæ p l diem 6d It pro 2 peciis 3z de Spaynish ferro empto de Jena ap ph [pro 2 vectibus factis ad ostium ante altare Sti Nicholai [22— It Henry Smyth de Vistobeston pro factura p'dict 10d It DD yryst laboranti secum circa id per unũ die— iijd It pro potu eodem tempore in le Forge 2d [It l— Syglo pro factura clavorũ per dimid diei ad præ- [dicta ostia 3d It pro potu illo tempore 1d It pro trac- [tatu lapidum ad opus Ecclæ apud Karvey viz: laborantibus Epi in potu 2d It Rob. Hoper pro cariagio eorundẽ eodem tempore viz: 2. trocleat 2d
Sũma 14s 9d
Cõicata 1o die mensis Januarii pro sept p'cedente Barth: per unum diem cum dimid operanti circa [eadem ostia 7d ob. It Buelth p tantũ circa idem 7d ob. [It Joh— Oweyn p tantũ circa idem 7d ob. Pho Rosse p [sept: 14d
Suma 3s 0d ob.
Coicata 15. die mensis Januarii pro sept p'cedente Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3s Pho Rosse p sept: 14d [It Ll. Syglo pro factura clavorũ ad pdict ostia p l. diẽ 6d It [DD yryst laboranti secum circa id p l diem 3d It in potu [eodẽ tem- pore 1d It eadem septimana circa tractatũ lapidũ [apud Karvey in potu 4d It Rob Hoper pro cariagio 4r troclea—eorundem 3d
Suma 5s 7d
Cõicata 22. die mensis Januarii pro sept p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario per sept. 3s Johi Rosse p sept. [14d Johi Oweyn p unũ diem pro meremii apud Poskyli ad facturã portarũ vallis 6d It DD ap Ritherch pro cariagio ejusdem 8d It pro pane & servisia illor' eodem tempore iijd
Suma 5s .d
[10.]
Cõicata 29 die mensis Januarii pro sept: p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3s Pho Rosse p sept 14d [Jak Hakkero p l diem perquirendi lapides apud [Karvey ad opus Ecclæ extra pactũ suũ taxæ appreciatæ 6d It Robin Hoper pro cariagio p'dict ad Ecclãm iijd
Suma 4s 11d
Cõicata die 5to mensis Februarii pro sept: p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario per sept. 3s Pho Rosse p sept. 14d Jõhi Makmorth p sept reparand partẽ borealem vallis 2s Jõhi Carpentario pro factura portar' vallis 26s 8d. Jõhi Hakker in ptem suæ taxæ de la [Loggys 13s 4d It eidem Jõhi pro diversis emendat' in [Eccl̃a per diei dimid 3d It Barth: & Buelth pro remunerat solid a retro dato natalis Dñi ex præcepto morgan ap Eynon 2s It ll. Syglo pro factura clavorũ ad [p'dict portas per dimid diem 3d It eodem tempore in [potu 1d It Robyn Hoper pro cariagio calcis et arenæ ad pdict portam p l. diem vjd
Suma 49s 3d
Cõicata die 12o mensis Februarii p sept. p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario per sept. 3s Pho Rosse p sept. [14d It eadẽ sept. Jõhi Carpentario pro uno equo locato equitand ad Tynby p negotiis Ecclæ 12d It in expensis circa se et equũ per 3. dies 18d
Suma 6s 8d
Cõicata die 19 mensis Februarii p sept p'cedente. Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3s Pho Rosse p sept. 14d It eadẽ sept. Steph Ph Robyn ap Walter DD ap Riderch pro cariagio 3. carlet. de lignis focalibus ad usũ Ecclæ de Porskyli 2s It DD Loyd pros- [ternenti eadem p l diem 3d It pro pane & servisia ad illos eodem tempore 4d ob. It pro l. peicia & 9z de ferro ad seras portarũ vallis & cariagio eorundẽ de Haverford 12d It pro l. clave emendat ad ostiũ chori Johi Wyner 6d
Suma 8s 3d ob.

Cõicata die 26. mensis Februarii p sept. p'cedente
Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3ˢ Pho Rosse per sept 14ᵈ
Iᵗ eadem sept pro una nova empta 8ᵈ
Iᵗ pro 200 clavis viz: bordnayl emptis ad opus
Ecclæ 18ᵈ Iᵗ pro 5 novis ferris pro Schouelys
empt 17ᵈ ob. pretiũ cujuslibet 3ᵈ ob. Iᵗ pro 1.
empt de Ll. Syglo ad opus Ecclæ̃ 6ˢ
Suña 13ˢ 7ᵈ ob.

[11.]
Cõicata 5ᵗᵒ die mensis martii pro sept p'cedente.
Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3ˢ Pho Rosse p sept. 14ᵈ
Suña 4ˢ 2ᵈ
Cõicata 12 die mensis martii pro sept p'cedente.
Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3ˢ Pho Rosse p sept. 14ᵈ
Suña 4ˢ 2ᵈ
Cõicata 19 die mensis martii pro sept. p'cedente.
Xtiano Glasiario per sept. 3ˢ Pho Rosse p sept. 14ᵈ
Iᵗ DD ap Dear(?) pro uno pikardo de lapidibus
calcinis & cariagio vectis & clavorum & unius
peicii plumbi ad portas clausus et ad opus Ecclæ̃
22ˢ Iᵗ Willõ Wylde pro factura p'dict vectis viz 8
et 4 hocis cum clavis pertinentibus ad easdem
portas viz 111 quæ ponderant 18 peicias 11ᵉ et
dimid pro qualibet peicia 10ᵈ et sic suña 15ˢ 8ᵈ
et pro emendat unius securis Ecclæ̃ p'dicto
Willõ 4ᵈ Iᵗ pro cariagio p'dict peic. plumbi cum
vecte p'dict de Porthklays ad Ecclãm 2ᵈ
Suña 42ˢ 4ᵈ
Cõicata 26. die mensis martii pro sept. p'cedente.
Xtiano Glasiario p sept. 3ˢ Pho Rosse p sept 14ᵈ
Suña 4ˢ 2ᵈ
Cõicata 2ᵈᵒ die mensis Aprilis pro sept p'cedente.
Phõ Rosse p sept. 14ᵈ Jak Lokyer pro factura 3
serarum cum 1. clave ad portas clausuræ vallis
et 4 pegõus & 4 Lopis ferreis cum 4. platis ad
easdem portas 5ˢ Iᵗ in potu eodem tempore circa.
p'dictũ opus 2ᵈ Iᵗ DD fabri de wyston pro 4 vectibus
ferreis novis ad ostiũ boreale Ecclæ̃ de suo ferro
quæ ponderant 4ʳ peicias 11ᵉ pro qualibet peicia
2ˢ 4ᵈ et sic suña 11ˢ 4ᵈ Iᵗ p'dict DD pro 27
clavis magnis ad portas clausuræ 13ᵈ Iᵗ p'dict
pro 15. clavis ad p'dict ostiũ 4ᵈ Iᵗ pro cariagio
p'dict de wyston ad Ecclãm menev. 6ᵈ Iᵗ p'dict
DD. in beveragio 2ᵈ Iᵗ Jak Lokyer pro emendaõe
de la 9ᵈ est factum 2ᵈ
Suña 19ˢ 11ᵈ
Coicata 9ᵃᵒ die mensis Aprilis pro sept. p'cedente
Pho Rosse per sept 14ᵈ
Suña 14ᵈ

[12.]
Cõicata die 16ᵗᵒ mensis Aprilis p sept p'cedente
Pho Rosse p sept. 14ᵈ Iᵗ pro percameno empto
[pro
isto rotulo 6ᵈ Iᵗ Hugoni Felton pro vadiis suis
per annum 30ˢ
Suma 31ˢ 8ᵈ
Suña totalis istaru 6. rotularum Cõicatorum
infra 45ᵉ 10ˢ 10ᵈ ob.

[13.]
Hen: 7. Rex.
Hugh Pavy. Episcopus.
Computus Dnī Willī Warryn Coñunarii
Canonicor' Ecclæ̃ Cathedralis Menevensis
A Festo Sᵗⁱ Petri ad Vincula año Dni 1490
usqu ad idem Festum anno revoluto

Et recepit de 21ᵉ 19ˢ 6ᵈ de arreragiis ultimi
anni p'cedentis. Suña —— 21ᵉ 19ˢ 6ᵈ
Et recepit de 28ˢ 4ᵈ de visitaõe Reliqui—
in partibus australibus hoc anno.
Et recepit de 26ˢ 8ᵈ de visitaõe reliquiar'
in partibus goeriæ hoc anno
Et recepit de 60ˢ de denariis beati David in
partibus Brechon hoc anº
Suña 5ᵉ 15ˢ 0ᵈ
Et recepit de 2ˢ de redditu de Ruppe ad festũ
Sᵗⁱ David Archiẽpi hoc anº
Et Rec de 2ˢ de redditu de Brungwgn p annũ
Et Rec de 10ˢ de redditu de Rossan p annũ
Et Rec de 3ˢ 7ᵈ de perquisitis Curiæ p annũ.
Et Rec de 19ˢ 4ᵈ de Redditu Canonicorũ p añum.
Et Rec de 6ᵈ de reddit de morva p annum.
Et Rec de 4ᵈ de reddit de Kadmor
Suña 31ˢ 9ᵈ
Et Rec de 10ᵉ Ecclārum villæ Galfridi et Sᵗ
Ussulæ sic dimiss mʳᵒ David Wogan.
Et Rec de 8ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ̃ de Llanunda sic
dimiss mʳᵒ Thomæ ap Howell.
Et Rec de 8ᵉ de firmis Ecclārum Llanhõ & Llan-
diloe sic dimiss Henrico ap Owen.
Et Rec de 40ˢ pro firma Ecclæ̃ Sᵗæ Edrinæ sic
dimis Willõ Powle.
Et Rec de 16ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ̃ de Luell sic
dimiss Netherch ap Rˢ ap ph. hoc anno.

Et Rec de 16^{s} pro firma alliꝯ Albæ Ecclæ sic dimiss m^{ro} maurico Vicario ibid.
Et Rec de 11$^{£}$ de exitibus Capellarū S^{toru} Justineani Nonitæ & Gorid hoc an°
Suma 55$^{£}$ 16^{s}
Et Rec de 4$^{£}$ pro pensiõe Abbatis de Talley hoc an°
Et Rec de 13^{s} 4^{d} de Redditu mansi Cancellarii Menevensis hoc anno
Et Rec de 8^{s} de decimis de Trefgarne hoc an°
Et Rec de 13^{s} 4^{d} pro pensiõe Ecclārum de Llanbothyr et Llanvihangell orath hoc an°
Et Rec de 5^{s} pro pensione Prioris Kermerdyn pro cera hoc an°
Et Rec de 4^{s} pro indempnitate Ecclæ de Cardigan per annum.
Et Rec de 2^{s} pro pensiõe Rector de Oystermouth hoc anno.
[14.]
Et Rec de 10^{s} pro pensiõe Castri Mauritii hoc an°
Et Rec de 7^{s} pro pensiõe Abbatis Gloucestriæ p [añum.
Et Rec de 18^{s} pro pensiõe Ecclæ Llanbadornvaur [p annū
Et Rec de 3^{s} pro decimis de Trefdyn hoc anno.
Et Rec de 10^{s} pro pensiõe Prioris de Llantony p [annum
Et Rec de 6^{s} 8^{d} pro pensiõe de Llangathen p annum
Suma 9$^{£}$ 4^{d}
Et Rec de 4$^{£}$ de m^{ro} Choristarū & custod eorundē sic dimiss DD ap lln ap Gwyll.
Et Rec de 5^{s} de radditu Trifiddyg hoc an°
Suma 4$^{£}$ 5^{s}
Et Rec de bonis denariis de oblāobus ad magnū Altare per tempus compti ut patet per parcellas inde in Thesaurar remanent 89$_{£}$ 12^{s} 6. ob.
Et Rec de denariis refusis de hujusmodi oblāobus ad magnum Altare 30$^{£}$ 9^{s} 11^{d}
Suma 120$^{£}$ 2^{s} 5^{d} ob.
Et Rec de 14^{s} de bestiis venditis hoc an°
Suma 14^{s}
Et Rec de 5^{s} 2^{d} de mortuariis hoc an°
Et Rec de 4^{s} 6^{d} p funeralibus & anniv̄sar
Et Rec. de 26^{s} 8^{d} de Purifica: & stdīs sic dimiss Capellano Parochiali hoc anno.
Et Rec de 6^{s} ob. de sponsalibus hoc an°
Suma 42^{s} 4^{d} ob.
Suma total Recept 199$^{£}$ 7^{s} 11^{d}
Suma total Recept cū arreragiis 221$^{£}$ 7^{s} 5^{d}
Computus in denariis solutis pro cera ultra 100$_{£}$ de [pens

Thesaur Ecclæ Cathedralis menev. ut patet per [billas inde examinat 4$^{£}$ 6^{s} 2^{d} et solut pro lichinis ad usum Ecclæ per tempus computi ut patet per billas et solut iiii^{s} pro factura ceræ p tempus computi. Et solut 20^{s} pro vino empto pro missa celebrand p gle [annū et solut 7^{s} 8^{d} pro 5. trocleatis clibarum ad usum [Ecclæ viz: pro pistura nebularum et aliis neriis. et solvit pro pistura nebularum 2^{s} 8^{d} et sol 4^{d} pro collec- [tiõe palmarum. et sol vic Fusant pro mundaõe Ecclæ 5^{s} et sol pro speciebus ad mandatū Dnī 2^{s} et sol p fru- [ment ad idem mandatū vi^{s} 8^{d} et sol pro servis empta ad dictū mandatū 4^{s} et sol pro panibus pro missa [celebrand per tempus computi 3^{s} 4^{d} et sol pro vino [ad dictū mandatū 2^{s} et sol pro vino vic' passionem Dnī cantant in Dominica Palmarū 6^{d} et sol. pro lavaõe Corporaliū p annū 4^{d} et sol pro ad us— Ecclæ p annū 8^{d} et sol sissori pro foedo suo p an— 2^{s} et sol pro filo albo 4^{d} et sol lotrici p annū 2^{s}
[15.]
pro custodiend Le Clocke p annū 10^{s} et sol. pro cera viridi per annū 8^{d} et sol pro pulsaõe magnar' campanarū p annū 10^{s} et sol pro ĩnformaõe 4. Choristarum p annū 26^{s} 8^{d} et sol pro script p añū 10^{s} et sol pro paruris suendis p annū 2^{s} et sol pro pergameno & papyro p tempus computi 2^{s} 4^{d} et sol pro materiis faciendis in caust 12^{d} et sol pro mattis & rotundis 6^{d} et sol pro Rosniga & cepe(?) pro [torchis faciendis 2^{s} 4^{d} et sol pro factura torchior' 16^{d} et sol pro vino Parochianis cōicandis in die Paschæ 8^{s} 4^{d} et sol Clericis ad eor' relavamen p annū 13^{s} 4^{d} et pro mundaõe pelvis & lampadum Paschæ erga festū Paschæ 2^{d} et sol pro iii£ panis pro Parochianis cōicandis in die Paschæ 12^{d} et sol pro mundaõe pelvis erga Festū Pentecost 2^{d} et sol Vicar Fusant p annū 6^{s} 8^{d} et sol pro lichinis ad faciend torchas 12^{d} et sol Capi
Suma 13$^{£}$ 17^{s} 8^{d}
Et sol tribus Capellanis celebrantibs in Cantaria Johīs Wogan militis pro stipendiis suis p annū 10£
Et sol capellano parochiali pro stipendio suo per annū 26^{s} 8^{d} Et sol sacristæ & tabellioni p eorum feodo p annū 10^{s} et sol Doctori Owen Pole & m^{ro}

Thomæ ap h° procuratoribus Capituli pro eorum feodo p annū 40ˢ et sol Rec' pro officio suo p annū 26ˢ 8ᵈ et sol vicar Ecclæ Cathedr. Menev. pro [eorū
Robis 11ᵉ et sol pro tabula 4ʳ choristarū unā cum 2ˢ pro eorū tonsura, sotular & togis ut patet per billas inde examinat 8ᵉ 13ˢ 6ᵈ et sol vicar pro obitu David martyn 18ˢ et sol cōmunar pro labore suo 40ˢ et sol. Willō Warryn organizanti 40ˢ et Virgeferario pro officio suo p annū 33ˢ 4ᵈ
Suma 41ᵉ 13ˢ 2ᵈ
Et Sol Auditor hujus computus pro laboribus suis [6ˢ 8ᵈ
Et Sol clericis scribent istū computū 3ˢ 4ᵈ et sol Sacristæ pro officio suo p annū 20ˢ et sol Priori Pembroch pro pensiōe Ecclārum villæ Galfridi et Sti [Ussulæ 4ˢ
Et sol pro procuraōbus & synodalabus Ecclīarum de Llandiloe & Llanhowell hoc anno 11ˢ 6ᵈ et sol pro procuraōbus Ecclārum villæ Galfridi et Sᵗⁱ [Ussuldi
hoc an° 11ˢ 6ᵈ et sol pro vino Parochianis cōi- [candis
villa Galfridi in die Paschæ 4ᵈ et sol Johī ap Rˢ pro suo bono consilio impenso & impendendo capitulo & canonicis menev. 20ˢ et sol Richardo ap [Owen
atturnato Capituli pro consimili consilio 40ˢ et sol Cameræ Apostolicæ pro procurat 7ᵉ et sol 9ᵉ 4ᵈ Dⁿⁱ Oweno Pole mʳᵉ operis ad usū fabricæ per *Robertus Sherbourn*
venerabilē patrem Robertū nuper menev. Epūm per suas litteras patentes assignat. et sol. Johi Kerver [16.]
pro feodo suo p annū per capitulū sibi concessū 13ˢ 4ᵈ et sol Dnō Thomæ Baker pro pensiōe sua per Capitulum sibi concessa de 6ᵉ et ultra portionem
et sol. Willō Goldsmyth pro 10. virgatis de Bocke- [ram p'tii
le virg 8ᵈ suma 6ˢ 8ᵈ et sol vicar Trisurth pro 24. virgis de crestleyth pro 4. superpell faciend pro 4ʳ choristis pretii et sol Elenæ Gwyn pro factura ejusdē superpell 2ˢ et solvit Pho Clerke pro reparaōe ei per diem 4ᵈ suma 16ᵈ
et solvit Johī Plumer et consocio suo pro labore eor' p ij dies labor'tibus circa aquæ ductum quolibet die [10ᵈ Suma 20ᵈ
et sol pro 4 libris de sowdyr pretii le £ 2ᵈ ob. [suma 10ᵈ
et sol pto clavis ferri ad usū sepulchri in die Paschæ et sol Hugoni Lloyd pro 12ᵉ de thympomatis et sol pro pergameno, filiis, coriis, pellibus et aliis [neriis ad
usum ligatoriæ librorum prout patet per billas inde [confectas 28ˢ 10ᵈ et sol. DD llīs pro labore suo eunti [ad Lamfay
ad portandum sacrum oleum erga festū cænæ Dnī [8ᵈ et
sol Ricardo Fesand ad faciendū duos bandrygs ad usum campanarū 8ᵈ et sol Jōhi Pope pro
pro coro p'dict pedū 2. Suma 7ᵉ et solvit pro naulo eorundem de Bristollia usq; lapidum de portu Glayes usq; menev 2ˢ 4ᵈ et sol [Thomæ
Knight operanti circa lapid pro 6ˢ et
B sol Jenkyn ap Thomas Thomæ Hayward Thomæ [Johīs Willō
Leva servientibus cuilibet eorū p diem iiijᵈ suma 16ˢ
Et Robert Clement pro cariagio 12 ligatis sabuli 12ᵈ trunc reliquirū et alias
trunchas p 12. dies cuilibet p diem 6ᵈ suma 6ˢ et sol pro filo et sol pro filo albo & blod viz: 2ᵉ pretii le £. 14ᵈ Suma 2ˢ 4ᵈ Et sol Hugoni Monmouth pro 9 petiis cordelarum pro campanis petii p'tii 2ˢ Suma 18ˢ et mʳᵉ Grent scribanti computum p'centoris 2ˢ et sol pro emendaōe caleptræ & barbæ Joseph 10ᵈ et sol pro emendaōe et sol pro 1ᵉ visti 4ᵈ et sol pro emendaōe thuribuli angeli 12ᵈ et sol pro panni lintei pro luthianno (?) faciend
ad sumum altare unā cum 4 virg dag p magistrum Willm et sol pro reparaōe cancellæ de Howell 10ˢ et sol pro expensis cōmunarii euntis ad Haverford ad emendā ceram pro eccla in duobus diebus 2ˢ et sol pro careagio p'dictæ ceræ ab [Hav'fordia
usq; ad Meneviam 8ᵈ et sol pro expensis cōmunarii [17.]
euntis ad Hav'ford ad emendas species ad mandatum Dnī 6ᵈ et sol pro expensis Netherch ap Rˢ ap ph: [firmarii Ecclæ de
Lluell venienti cum integra firma ad Meneviam 20ᵈ et sol pro expensis euntis ad Haverfordiū pro pecuniis quærendis pro firma Ecclæ Sᵗⁱ Ussuldi 2ˢ et sol procuratoribus Capituli eundi ad Curiam Cantuariensē pro inhibiōne contra violatores libertatis Ecclæ Cathedralis menevensis in possessionibus suis per 21 dies per diem 12ᵈ Suma 21ˢ et sol pro inhibiōne

ad Archiepūm ad Knolls 7ˢ et sol Johī Bryham pro duabus parvis pixid' viz. pro qualibet

Sūma 39ᵉ 17ˢ 8ᵈ

Sūma total allocat' 94 18 6

et remanet 126 8 11

et postea onerat' de tribus Cantariis vacant in Cantaria Johīs Wogan militis et pro procuraōbus & Synodalibus Ecclārum de Llandoloy & Llanhowell 11ˢ 6ᵈ et remanet

unde

Super Ricard Folke Firmarii Ecclæ Sᵗⁱ Ussuli pro anº Dni 1487—8ᵉ

Perquisit' curiæ de Rossan quæ curiæ ibidem non tenenter propter negligentiā sunsgalli hoc anº & 6. annis p'ced

Redd de Rosse hoc anº & 4 annis p'cedent 10ˢ

Ricard ap Owen firmario Ecclæ Sᵗⁱ Ussuldi pro ano Dni 1488 8ˢ 9ᵈ

Willō Powle firmario Ecclæ de Llanunda pro anº Dni 1489 6ˢ 8ᵈ

Res ap Lln ap Guillm Lloyd firmariū Ecclæ de Llanvenne pro anº Dnī 1489 20ˢ

Willm Havard firmar' denarior' Sᵗⁱ David in ptibus Brechon pro annis Dni 1489 et 1490—66ˢ 8ᵈ

DD ap Ph ap Meredith Edward firmario denarior' Sᵗⁱ DD in partibus

Llewys Vachan firmario Ecclæ Sᵗⁱ Ussuldi pro anº Dnī 1491. 26ˢ 8ᵈ

Resū ap Lln ap Gwillm Lloyd firmar' Ecclæ de Llanwenne pro anº 1487. 4ᵉ

Redd de Morva pro hoc anº et anº p'cedent 1ˢ

Redd de Kadivor p hoc año & año p'cedent 8ᵈ

[18.]

Henricū ap Owen firmar Ecclārum de Llandeloe & Llanhowell pro hoc anº 8ᵉ

DD ap Lln ap Gwillm firmar' de Llanwenne p hoc [anº 4ᵉ

Redd de Trewythye pro hoc anº

Arreragior' Sūma total

unde super ipsū computantē 96ᵉ

et in denariis refusis 30 9ˢ 11ᵈ

[plus in] tot bonis denar 60ˢ 1 ob.

in tot

de refusis denariis 27ˢ

Liber cōmunii pro anº Dni 1490.

[19.]

Hen: 7. Rex Anno Regni 8.

Hugh Pavy. Episcopus.

Computus Dnī Willī Warryn Comūnarii Canonicorum Ecclæ Cathed: Menev: a festo Sᵗⁱ Petri ad Vincula anº Dⁿⁱ 1492. usqᵦ ad idem Festum anno revoluto.

Et recepit de 28ᵉ 10ˢ 6ᵈ de arreragiis ultimi anni p'cedentis

Sūma 28ᵉ 10ˢ 6ᵈ

Et R de 17ˢ 2ᵈ de visitaōe reliquiarum in partibus estratowy hoc anno

Et R. de 33ˢ 8ᵈ de visitaōe reliquiar' in partibus Goherie hoc anno.

Et R. de 60ˢ de denariis beati David in partibus Brechon hoc anº

Sūma 110ˢ 10ᵈ

Et R. de 2ˢ de redditu de Ruppe ad festū Sᵗⁱ David Archepī hoc anº

Et R de 2ˢ de redditu de Brugwyn p annū

Et R de 10ˢ de redditu de Rossan p annū

Et R de 3ˢ 7ᵈ de perquisitis Curiæ ibidē p annū

Et R de 13ˢ 4ᵈ de redditu Canonicor' p annum

Et R de 6ᵈ de Redd. de Morva p annū

Et R de 4ᵈ de redd de Kadmor

Sūma 31ˢ 9ᵈ

Et R. de 10ᵉ Ecclārum Villæ Galfridi & Sᵗⁱ Ussuldi sic dimiss mʳᵒ David Wogan

Et R. de 8ᵉ for firma Ecclæ de Llanunda sic dimiss mʳᵒ Thomæ ap Howel.

et R. de 8ᵉ de firmis Ecclārum de Llanhowell et Llandeloe sic dimiss Henrico ap Owen.

et R. de 40ˢ pro firma Ecclæ Sᵗⁱ Edrinæ sic dimiss mʳᵒ ap Howell hoc año

et R. de 16ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ de Lluell sic dimiss Netherch ap Rˢ ap ph. hoc anº

et R. de 16ˢ pro firma altiq albæ Ecclæ sic dimiss mʳᵒ maricis Vicarº ibid hoc anº

et R. de 11ᵉ de exitibus Capellarum Sᵗᵒʳᵘᵐ Justiniani, Nonne, & Gorid hoc anº

Sūma 55ᵉ 6ˢ

[20.]

et Recepit de 4ᵉ pro pensioë Abbatis de Talley hoc [anº

et R. de 13ˢ 4ᵈ de redd mans. cancell. menev. hoc [anº

et R. de 8ˢ de decimis Tretgaune hoc anº

et R. de 13ˢ 4ᵈ pro pensiõe Ecc̃larũ de Llanbothyr
[& Llanhihangell orath hoc anº
et R. de 5ˢ pro pensioe prioris Carmarden pro cera
[hoc anº
et R. de 4ˢ pro indemnitate Cardigan p annũ.
et R. de 2ˢ pro pensioẽ Rectoris de Oystermouth
[hoc anº
et R. de 10ˢ pro pensioẽ castri maurici hoc anº
et R. de 7ˢ pro pensioẽ Abbatis Gloucestriæ p annũ
et R. de 18ˢ pro pensioẽ Ecclæ de Llanbadarnvaur
[p annũ
et R. de 3ˢ pro pensioẽ de Trefdyn hoc anº
et R. de 10ˢ pro pensioẽ Prioris de Llantony p
[annũ
et R. de 6ˢ 8ᵈ p pensioẽ de Llangathen p annũ
Sumã 9ᶫ 4ᵈ
et R. de 4ᶫ de Mʳᵒ choristarũ et custode eorundẽ sic
dimiss David ap Lln ap Gwyllñ
et R. de 5ˢ de redditu Treffyddyg hoc anº
Sumã 4ᶫ 5ˢ
et R. de bonis denariis de oblãobus ad magnũ Altare
et alia altaria p tempus computi ut patet per par-
cellas inde in Thesaur remanentˢ 10ᶫ 13ˢ 4ᵈ
et r. de denariis refusis de hujusmodi oblãobus ad
magnũ altare 4ᶫ 20ᵈ
Sumã in denariis bonis 10ᶫ 13ˢ 4ᵈ
Sumã in denariis refusis 4 0 20
et R. de bestiis venditis hoc anº nihil
Sumã
et R. de 17ˢ de mortuariis hoc anº
et R. de 8ˢ 4ᵈ pro funeralibus et anniv'sariis hoc anº
et R. de 26ˢ 8ᵈ de purifiaõbus et stdis sic dimiss
capellano Parochiali hoc anº
et R. de 4ˢ 4ᵈ de sponsalibus hoc anº
Sumã 56ˢ 4ᵈ
Sumã totał receptorũ 93ᶫ 14ˢ 3ᵈ
Sumã totał receptorũ cum arreragiis } 122 4 4
Comput

[21.]
Comput in denariis solut pro cera ultra 100ˢ de
pensioẽ Thesaurar Ecclæ Cathed. Meneva ut p billas
inde examinatas 6ᶫ 13ˢ 4ᵈ et soł pro lichinis ad
usũ Ecclæ per tempus compot iiiˢ 10ᵈ et sol. 4ˢ
pro factura ceræ p tempus compot et sol 19ˢ pro
[vino
empto pro missa celebranda p annũ et sol 5ˢ 8ᵈ
pro 5 trocleatis glebarũ ad usũ Ecclæ viz pro
pistura nebularum & alijs neŕijs et solvit pro pis-
tura nebularum 2ˢ 8ᵈ et soł 4ᵈ pro collectione
palmarum et soł pro mundaõe Ecclæ p annũ 5ˢ
et soł pro speciebus ad mandatũ Dnĩ 2ˢ et soł pro
frument ad idem mandatũ 6ˢ 8ᵈ et soł pro servisia
empta ad dictũ mandatũ 4ˢ et soł pro panibus
pro misa celebrand per tempus compoti 3ˢ 4ᵈ et soł
pro vino ad dictũ mandatũ 2ˢ et soł pro vino
vicario passionem Dnĩ cantanti in dominica
Palmarum 6ᵈ et soł pro lavaõe corporał p
annũ 4ᵈ et sol pro ad usũ Ecclæ per
annũ 8ᵈ et soł p sissori pro foedo suo p annũ 2ˢ
et soł pro filo albo 4ᵈ et soł lotrici p annũ 2ˢ
et sol pro custodia le Clocke p annũ 20ˢ et soł
pro cera viridi p annũ 8ᵈ et soł pro pulsaõe
magnarũ campanar' p annũ 10ˢ et soł pro
informacoẽ 4ʳ choristarv̄ p annũ 26ˢ 8ᵈ et soł
pro script per annũ 10ˢ et soł pro paruris suendis
2ˢ at sol pro pergameno & papyro per tempus
computi 2ˢ 4ᵈ et sol pro materijs faciendis in
caust 12ᵈ et sol pro mattis rotundis 6ᵈ et sol pro
Rosina et cepe pro torchis faciendis 2ˢ 4ᵈ et sol
pro factura & torchorum 2ˢ 8ᵈ et soł pro vino Paro-
chianis coĩcandis in die Paschæ 8ˢ et soł clericis ad
eor' relevamen per annũ 13ˢ 4ᵈ et soł pro mundaoẽ
Pelvis et lammpads Paschæ erga festũ Paschæ 4ᵈ
[et sol pro iiiᶫ
panis pro Parochianis coĩcandis in die Paschæ 12ᵈ
et sol pro mundaoẽ Pelvis erga Fest Pentecostes 3ᵈ
[et soł
et soł pro mundaoẽ Pelvis erga Fest Reliquiar'
[2ᵈ et
sol pro lichinis ad faciendos torchos 16ᵈ et soł pro 10
lagenis olej lampad p'tiũ cujuslibet lagenæ 12ᵈ
sumã 13ˢ 4ᵈ et soł pro carragio ejusdem olej
viᵈ
Sumã 15ᶫ 4ˢ 4ᵈ
et sol.

[22.]
et soł duobus Capellanis celebrantibus in cantaria
Johis Wogan militis pro stipendijs suis p annũ 10ᶫ
et sol Capellano Parochiali pro stipendio suo p
[annũ
26ˢ 8ᵈ et soł sacristæ & tabellioni pro eorum
foedis p annũ 10ˢ et soł Doctorj Oweno Pole & Mʳᵒ
Thoma ap Howel procurat Capitulj pro eor' foedis
per annũ 40ˢ et soł receptori pro officio suo p annũ
26ˢ 8ᵈ et soł vicariis Ecclæ Cathed. menev. p eorũ
robis 11ᶫ et soł pro tabla 4ʳ Choristar̄ una cum
2ˢ pro eor' tonsura sotular & togis ut patet per
billas inde examinat' 8ᶫ 18ˢ 2ᵈ et soł vicarijs
pro obitu David Martyn 18ˢ et sol coñunar'

pro labore suo 40^s et sol wyttmo warryn orga nizantj 40^s et virgeferario pro officio suo per annũ 33^s 4^d

Suma 41^{li} 12^s 10^d

Et sol auditor hujus computj pro laboribus suis 6^s 8^d et sol cleric' scribent' istũ computum 3^s 4^d et sol sacristæ pro officio p annũ 20^s Et Priori Pembroch pro pensioe Ecclarũ Villæ Galfridi Stj ussuld 4^s et sol pro procuraõbus et synodal Ecclarum de Llandeloe & Llanhowell hoc año 11^s 6^d et sol pro procuraobus Ecclārum Villæ Galfridi & Stj Ussuld hoc an° 11^s 6^d et sol pro vino Parochia nis coĩcandis Villæ Galfridi in die Paschæ 4^d et sol Johj ap R^s pro suo bono consilio impenso et impendendo capitulo & canonicis menev. 20^s et sol Ric^d ap Owen atturnato Capitulj pro consimilj consilio 40^s Et Sol Cameræ Apostolicæ pro procurãobus 7^{li} et sol 9^{li} 4^d Doctori Oweno Pole m^{ro} operis ad usũ fabricæ per venerabilem patrem Robertũ nuper menev. Epũm per suas litteras patentes assignat' et sol Johj Kerver pro foedo suo p annũ per Capitulũ sibj concess 13^s 4^d et sol Thomæ Kneaght pro labore suo circa paviment' [Ecclæ & consocijs suis per tres dies 2^s 6^d et sol Henrico [Wadyw & consocio suo pro labore eor' per 6 dies laborant circa murũ Cimiterij quolibet die 9^d suma 4^s 2^d et sol Johj Bryan pro uno magno pixide Capellæ Stæ Nonnæ pertinent et alijs pix 31^s 5^d et sol pro [libro

[23.]

libro martyrolog 6^s 8^d et sol Dnõ Nicholas David [M^{ro} Choristar' pro foedo suo 6^s 8^d et sol Dnõ Hugh Lloyd pro labore suo euntj ad lamfay ad portandũ sacrũ oleum erga festũ cænæ Dnĩ 8^d et sol pro mundaoe & reparaoe thuribulj

Angelj 3^d et DD ap Howel pro pelle equi ad usũ magnarũ campanar' 2^s 8^d & sol pro 4^l thy miamat' ptij le l 5^d suma 20^d et sol pro clavis ferreis ad usũ sepulturæ in die Paschæ 1^d et sol pro mundaoe vacuj locj juxta sumũm altare 4^d et sol Helenæ Gweyn[2] pro mundaoe div'sarum albarũ et alijs ne'rijs 6^d et pro reparaoe cancellj Ecclæ de Llowell 6^s 8^d et sol pro jentaculo Duj Epj in Ecclã de Lowell 3^s 4^d et sol Griffino Tresvathan ad faciend 3 Bandrygs ad usũ campanar' 12^d et sol pro expensis coĩunarij euntis ad Haverfordiã ad emend ceram pro Eccla in duob9 diebus 2^s et sol pro carragio pdict ceræ ab Haverfordia usq; ad menev. 8^d et sol pro expensis coĩarij euntis ad Haverfordiã ad emendas species ad mandatũ Dnĩ 12^d et sol Capellano Parochiali pro uno pixide ad portand corpus dominicũ circa Parochiam 6^d et sol Thomæ Plumẽr et consocis suo pro labore per 10 dies laborant' circa ij aquæ ductũ quolibet die 11^d suma 9^s 2^d et sol pro 20^l de sawdyr p'tij le l 2^d suma 3^s 4^d et sol pro una pipa plumbea pro aquæ ductu 20^d et sol 5^s pro factura le ad vehendã aquam V de fonte vocat' le brorghys well ad capud aquæ ductus ad taxam. et sol coĩunario pro expensis suis euntis ad Lowell pro pecunijs quærendis per spatiũ 8 dierũ pro arreragijs anni præteritj et a retro existent 8^s et sol pro 12 pedibus vitrj pro fenestra cancellj Ecclæ de Llanunda pretij cujuslibet pedis 10^d suma 10^s et sol pro 6 pedibus vitrj pro fenestra Capellæ Sti Justiniani p'tij cujuslibet pedis 10^d suma 5^s et sol pro 6 le [Barris ad fenestrã Sti Justiniani 6^d et sol pro 6 pedibus vitrj pro fenestra capellæ Stæ Nounte 5^s et sol [Thomæ Plumer euntj ad Ecclãm de Llanunda pro mensuram fenestrar ibidem capiend pro expensis & labore [suo 5^d et sol Thomæ Plumer et Waltero Robyn euntibus [ad Ecclãm

[24.]

Ecclãm de Llanunda ad ponendũ vitrum in fenestris per diem 10^d et sol pro et meremijs pro statione faciend' circa sumum altare et factura ejusdem 16^d et sol pro expensis coĩunarij euntis ad Glocestriã ad Resũ ap Thomas militem eunt' ad Franciam & allocaoe Firmar pro obligaõbus habend pro firma Ecclæ de lowell per 8 dies 8^s et sol Robto Bokebynder divers istorũ viz de visi- [taoe beatæ Mariæ, transfigurãoe, translaõe, S^{ti} Andreæ S^{ti} David & S^{tæ} Nonna ut patet per billam inde examinat' & examinand 11^s 1^d et sol Johi Parchmaker pro 24 pellibus pergameni p pellem 3^d suma 6^s et sol vicario Ecclar' de Llandeloe & Llanhowel ultra portionem suam pro 4^r annis viz p annũ 13^s 4^d Suma 53^s 4^d et sol pro procura-

[2] Written over "Gwenn."

oĩbus et synodãl dictar' Eccl̃arum pro an° Dnĩ 1490 finient 11^{s} 6^{d} et sõl cõiario pro expensis suis eunti ad Hauerfordiã pro arreragiis sup̃ R? Fulke & Lodowic Vachan pro div'sis vicibus 3^{s} et sol pro factura muri in solario S^{tæ} Crucis calce & lapid' & aliis nẽriis ad idem opus pertinent ut patet per billam inde examinat 100^{s} et sol Jentaculo Dnĩ Epĩ in Eccl̃ã S^{ti} Ussuld 2^{s} et sol 6 ped. vitri pro fenestra S^{ti} Eddrim p'tiũ cujuslibet pedis 10^{d} sum̃a 5^{s} et pro expensis M^{ri} Thomæ ap howel et equitand eunti pro securitate habend pro firma dictæ Eccl̃æ 3^{s} 10^{d} et sõl clerico Capituli pro scriptura novi statuti concernent appropiãoes Eccl̃arum inposterum non concedend. et pro div'sis aliis litteris & im̃unitat' per ípsũ ad utilitatẽ Capituli p'dicti script 3^{s} 4^{d}

Sum̃a 32$^{£}$ 9^{s} 1^{d}

Sum̃a totall allocator 90$^{£}$ 6 3

Remanet 31 18 1

Super Ricardũ Folke Firmar Eccl̃ẽ S^{ti} Ussuld pro [an° Dnĩ 1487. 8$^{£}$ Pro perquisitis Curiæ de Rossan quæ curiæ ibidẽ non tenent^{r} ꝑpter negligentiam senescalli hoc an° & sex annis p'cedentibus 25^{s} 5^{d}

Reddit de Rupe hoc an° et 4^{r} p'cedentibus 10^{s}

Reddit de Bryngwyne pro an° 1490 & 1491. 2^{s} 9^{d}

Ricard ap Owyn Firmar' Eccl̃æ S^{ti} Ussuld pro an° [1488 8^{s} 9^{d}

[25.]

Willm̃ Powle firmariũ Eccl̃æ de Llanunda pro an° Dnĩ 1489. 6^{s} 8^{d}

Resum ap Ll^{n} ap Gwyllm̃ Lloyd firmariũ Eccl̃æ de Llanwene pro an° Dnĩ 1489. 20^{s}

Willm̃ Havard firmaris denarior' S^{ti} David in ꝑtibus Brechon pro an° Dnĩ 1489 et 1490. 66^{s} 8^{d}

Lodowicũ Vachan firmariũ Eccl̃æ S^{ti} Ussuld pro an° Dnĩ 1491. 26^{s} 8^{d}

Resum ap Lln ap Gwyllm̃ Lloyd firmar Eccl̃æ de Llanwene pro an° Dnĩ 1487. 4$^{£}$

Reddit de morva pro hoc an° et 4^{r} p'cedent añis 2^{s}

Reddit de K—divor pro hoc an° & 2 annis p'cedent [12

Reddit de Tresvithie pro an° Dnĩ 1491. 3^{s}

Sum̃a total' arreragior' 20$^{£}$ 12^{s} 11^{d}

Super ipsũ Computantem 11 5 2

Portio cujuslibet Canonici de 22 Canonicis 10^{s} –^{d} ob q^{a}

in toto —— 1^{d} ob plus

[26.]

Hen: 8. *Rex Anno Regni* 31.

Williã Barlow. Episcopus.

Computus Dnĩ Johĩs Emlott Coĩmunar Eccl̃æ Cathed. menev & Canonicor' Resident' in eadẽ per 26. Septiman a festo Sti Petri ad Vincula an° Dnĩ 1539. usq; idem festũ an° revoluto

Et Recepit de 26$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d} pro firma Eccl̃æ de Llan- [yndevry hoc an°

Et R de 10$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̃æ parochial' de Bygeld [hoc an°

Et R. de 8$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̃æ Paroch' S^{ti} Winnochi [hoc an°

Et R. de 20^{s} pro firma Eccl̃æ paroch' de Heyn- [venyo hoc an°

Et R. de 10$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̃æ paroch' de Nantmel [hoc an°

Sum̃a 55$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d}

Et R. de 20^{s} de M^{ro} Populy Cancell' Menev.

Et R. de 20^{s} de Doctore Gwent Arch Brecon.

Et R. de 20^{s} de Doctore Lyon Arch. Kermerdyn.

Et R. de 20^{s} de Arch Menev.

Et R. de 20^{s} de Doctore Gwent p'bend de Llan- [deby abrarth

Et R. de 20^{s} de m^{ro} —when

Et R. de 20^{s} de D^{re} Spenlove p'bend de Clidey

Et R de 20^{s} de D^{re} Waham p'bend de Merthre

Et R de 13^{s} 4^{d} de D^{re} Oliver Cursal

Et R de 13^{s} 4^{d} de m^{ro} DD ap Powel cursal'

Et R de 13^{s} 4^{d} de m^{ro} Edmundo Prison cursal'

Et R de 13^{s} 4^{d} de Abbate Talley Cursal'

Et R de 13^{s} 4^{d} de D^{re} m' cursal

Et R de 13^{s} 4^{d} de m^{ro} Venor p'bend de Kervey

Et R de 13. 4. de Jõhe ap perry cursal'

Et R de 13. 4. de Dño morgano llĩs p'bend de care- [warel

Et R de 13. 4. de m^{ro} Jõhe Barlo cursal'

Sum̃a 14$^{£}$

Sum̃a total' Recept hoc an° 69$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d}

Computus in denariis solutis M^{ro} Thomæ Loyd Pre- [centori & m^{ro} Lodovico ap bowen procurat' Capituli pro eor' feodis 26^{s} 8^{d} et solvi Coĩmunario pro stipendio suo

p an^{m} 10^{s} solvi auditoribus hujus compoti 5^{s} et solvi clico scribenti istud computū 2^{s}
It to y^{e} man y^{t} did bring the money frō Griffith Hygon for Llanyndovry 12^{d} It to y^{e} Cōmunar for 3. days to M^{r} Woryoth for the money unpaid 3^{s} It y^{e} repa- [rāons
of ye chancell of Bygyld ut patet per billam exa- [minand 7^{s} 9^{d}
Sum̄a total' exposita 55^{s} 5^{d}
et ad huc debet 67$^{£}$ 2^{s} 11^{d} unde
Portio cujuslibet triū Canonicor' Resident viz: m^{ri} Thomæ Lloyd Præcentoris m^{ri} Jōhis Llewis Thes- [aurarii
et Jōhis Luntley Archī Cardigan 22$^{£}$ 7^{s} 7^{d} ob.

[27.]
Compotus Dni Jōhis Emlott Comunar Canonicor' Resident in Eccl̄æ Cathed. Menev per tres quartas a festo S^{ti} Petri ad vincula añno Dnī 1539. usq; idem festū an^{o} revoluto.
Et R de 3^{s} 4^{d} reddit Sanctuarii S^{ti} Dogwell hoc an^{o}
Et R de 46^{s} 8^{d} p firma Eccl̄æ paroch. S^{ti} Dogwell [hoc an^{o}
Et R de 24$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̄æ paroch' de Llanavan- [vaur hoc an^{o}
Et R de 5$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̄æ de Llandebea hoc an^{o}
Et R. d 8$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d} pro firma Eccl̄æ de Llanrustut [hoc an^{o}
Et R de 13$^{£}$ 6^{s} 8^{d} de pensiōe Eccl̄æ de Llandows- [suld hoc an^{o}
Sum̄a 53$^{£}$ 10^{s}

Computus in denariis solut' pro missa in ara et sol' obitū Richardi Cayrew p annū 10^{s} 6^{d} et [sol' m^{ro}
Thomæ Lloyd Præcentori et m^{ro} Lodovico ap Bowen procurat' Capituli pro eor' feodis p annū 13^{s} 4^{d} et [sol'
Cōmunar pro stipendio suo p annū 13^{s} 4^{d} et sol' [audi-
tor' hujus computi 20^{d} et sol' clerico scribenti istud Computum 16^{d}
Sum̄a 7$^{£}$ 2^{d}
For y^{e} reparaōns of St Dogwell prout patet per billam examinand 31^{s} 3^{d}
Sum̄a 31^{s} 3^{d}
Sum̄a total' exposita 8$^{£}$ 11^{s} 5^{d}
et adhuc debet 44 18 7^{d} unde
portio cujuslibet triū Canonicor' resident viz. M^{ror}' Thomæ Lloyd Præcentoris Jōhis Lewis Thesaurarii et Jōhis Luntelev Archī de Cardigan.
14$^{£}$ 19^{s} 6^{d} 1^{d} plus

[28.]
Compotus Dnī Johīs Emlott Comūnar Eccl̄æ Cathed. Menev. & resident in eadem p. 26 Septimanas a Festo Stj Petrj ad vincula an^{o} Dnj 1541 usq. idem festum an^{o} revoluto
et Recepi de 26$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d} pro firma Eccl̄æ de llan- [dovery hoc an^{o}
et R. de 10$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̄æ Bygild hoc an^{o}
et R. de 8$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̄æ Vinnoij hoc an^{o}
et R. de 20^{s} pro firma Eccl̄æ Parochial' Heynvenio [hoc an^{o}
et R. de 10$^{£}$ pro firma Eccl̄æ Paroch' de Nantmell [hoc an^{o}
Sum̄a 55$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d}
et R. de 20^{s} de Archo menev.
et R. de 20^{s} de Archo Brecon
et R. de 20^{s} de Archo Kermerdyn
et R. de 20 de M^{ro} Populy Cancell. menev.
et R. de 20 de D^{re} Gwent
et R. de 20 de M^{ro} Rawling
et R. de 20^{s} de M^{ro} Spendloffe
et R. de 20^{s} de M^{ro} Barlo p̄bend de merthre
et R. de 13^{s} 4^{d} de M^{ro} DD ap powel cursal
et R. de 13. 4. de D^{re} Oliver cursal
et R de 13. 4. de D^{no} Edmundo Person cursal
et R. de 13. 4. de Abbate de Talley cursal
et R. de 13. 4. de Dnō Hogs p̄bend de
et R. de 13. 4. de Johi Perre cursal
et R. de 13. 4. de M^{ro} Grene p̄bend de Kerwey
et R. de 13. 4. de M^{ro} Barlo cursal
et R. de 13. 4. de D^{no} Morgano llū cursal
Sumā Recept 14$^{£}$
Sum̄a total' Recept' 69$^{£}$ 13^{s} 4^{d}

Compotus in denariis solutis. solvj M^{ro} Thomæ Lloyd et Doctorj M procuratorib' capitulj 26^{s} 8^{d} et sol comūnario pro stipendio suo p annū 10^{s} et sol auditoribus hujus computj 5^{s} et solvj clerico scribentj [istud
computū p annū 2^{s} et for 2 bebyllis for llanmdovry

13ˢ 4ᵈ et for a bebyll to Nantmell 6ˢ 8ᵈ
Suña exposita hoc anº 3ᵉ 3ˢ 8ᵈ
Et expositū pro decimis & subsidijs Dno Regj ad Festū Natalis Dñj ultimo preterit Debit tam pro Ecclis spectant tam ad comūniam quam pro Ecclis spectant ad sustentataõem divinor' in Eccla Cathedral menev. 36ᵉ 16ˢ 2ᵈ et pro expensis cõiarij pro deliberaõe dictar' decimar' et subsidij Dnõ Epõ london 22ˢ 6ᵈ unde adhuc debet Dñus computans pro hoc anº Sumām 28ᵉ 11ˢ 0ᵈ
Portio cujuslibet 4ʳ Canonicor' resident viz Mʳⁱ [Vachan Mʳᵒʳᵘᵐ Thomæ Lloyd Precentoris Hugonis lowys Thesaurarij Johis [lunkley et Roland Meyrick Resident 7ᵉ 2ˢ 9ᵈ Ita est per me [Thom. Lloyd Precentor per me Roland Meyrick resident

[29.]
Hen. 8 *Rex Anno Regni* 33
Williā Barlow Episcopus
Computus Dnj Johis Emlott comūnar Ecclæ Cathedral' menev & resident Canonicor' per tres quartas a festo Stj Petrj ad vincula anº Dnj 1541 usq ad idem festū anº revoluto
et Recepi de 3ˢ 4ᵈ reddit sanctuarij Sti Dogwell [hoc anº
et R. de 46ˢ 8ᵈ pro firma Ecclæ Stj Dogwell hoc anº
et R. de 24ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ Parock Llanavanvaur [hoc anº
et R. de 5ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ de Llandebea hoc anº
et R. de 8ᵉ 13ˢ 4ᵈ pro firma Ecclæ de Llanrustwt [hoc anº
et R. de 13ᵉ 6ˢ 8ᵈ p̄ pensioē Eccłæ de Llandussuld [hoc anº
suña recept 53ᵉ 10ˢ

Computus in denarijs solutis
Pro missa in ara ques. 100ˢ
et solvj obitū Richardj Carew p̄ annū 10ˢ 6ᵈ
et sol Mʳᵒ Thomæ Lloyd Precentorj & Mʳᵒ Mˡ procuratorj capitulj 13ˢ 4ᵈ
et soł comūnario pro stipendio suo 13ˢ 4ᵈ
et soł auditorj hujus computj—20ᵈ
et sol clerico scribentj istud computū 16ᵈ
et soł pro reparatiõe cancellj Stj Dogwell 4ˢ
It for a bebyll to llanavanvaur 6ˢ 8ᵈ
It for a bebyll to llandebea 6ˢ 8ᵈ
It for a bebyll to llanrustwᵗ 6ˢ 8ᵈ
Suña exposit 8ᵉ 3ˢ 2ᵈ
et sic diebus comūnar adhuc debet pro hoc anno super hunc computū 45ᵉ 6ˢ 10ᵈ
Portio cujuslibet 4ʳ Canonicor' resident viz. Mʳᵒʳ' Thomæ Lloyd Precentoris Doctoris lwys thesaurarij Johīs lunkley & Rolandj meyrick resident 11ᵉ 6ˢ 8ᵈ ob.
verum est per me Tho: lloyd P'cent p̄ me Rolandū Meurick resident

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[30.]
Queen Mary. Anno Regni 5.
Henry Morgan. Episcopus.
Computus Willm̄i Martyn Coñunar Canonicorū [Ecclæ Cathedr Menev a festo Sti Petri ad Vincula anº Dni 1557 usque ad idem festū anº revoluto
Imprimis de arreragii ultimi anni 15ᵉ 2ᵈ ob.
Et de 2ˢ 8ᵈ de quadā terra quæ vocatʳ Tyr Barre
Et de 8ˢ pro arreragiis p'dict terræ his 3ᵇᵘˢ annis p'terit 8ˢ
Et Recepi de 2ˢ de Bryngwin hoc anº
Et R de 10ˢ de Reddit de Rossan hoc anº
Et R de 17ˢ de Reddit terræ Canonicorum hoc anº
Et de 5ˢ de Sanc Nonita hoc anº
Et R de exitu terrarū pertinent ad Capellam de Llanstinan 20ᵈ
Et R de 3ˢ 4ᵈ de Cimeterio Sᵗⁱ David hoc anº
Suña 17ᵉ 8ˢ 2ᵈ ob.
Et R de 10ᵉ pro firmis villæ Galfridi et Sᵗⁱ Ussold [hoc anº
Et R. de 8ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ de Llanunda hoc anº
Et R. de 10ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ de Llandeloy et Llanhowel hoc anº
Et R de 40ˢ pro firma Ecclæ Sᵗæ Edrinæ hoc anº
Et R de 16ᵉ pro firma Ecclæ de Lluell hoc anº
Et R de 16ˢ de alteragiis albæ Ecclæ hoc anº
Suma 46ˡ 16ˢ
Et R de 13ˢ 4ᵈ pro manerio Cancellar menev. hoc [anº
Et R de 4ᵉ pro indemnitat de Talley hoc anº
Et R de 5ˢ pro pensiõe Prioris nup Carmarthen [hoc anº
Et R de 4ˢ pro pensiõe de Cardigan hoc anº

Et R de 2ˢ pro pensiõe de Oystermought hoc anº
Et R de 18ˢ pro pensiõe de Llanbaderne hoc anº
Et R de 5ˢ pro decimis de Trefdiene hoc anº
Et R de 22ˢ pro pensiõe de Whitland hoc anº
Et R. de 10ˢ pro pensiõe de Llanthony hoc anº
Et R de 20ᵈ pro pensiõe de Manorbier hoc anº
Et R de 10ˢ de Castro Mauritii hoc anº
Et R de 7ˢ de Abbate Gloustriæ hoc anº
Et R de 13ˢ 4ᵈ de Llanbether & Llanihangell ydrota [hoc anº
Et R de 8ˢ de Trefgarne hoc anº
Et R de 8ˢ de Llangathen hoc anº
Et R de 5ˢ de Treffvethick hoc anº
Et R de 10ˢ de Rupe hoc anº
Suña 14ᶫ 6ᵈ
Et R de 4ᶫ 15 4ᵈ de oblaõbus ad magnũ Altare
Et R de 8ˢ de purificãobus hoc anº
Et R de 7ˢ 2ᵈ de sponsalibus hoc anº
Et R de 12ˢ 11ᵈ de funeralibus & pecuniis tunc [oblatis
Et R de 2ˢ 2ᵈ de testamentis hoc anº
Et R de 4ˢ 3ᵈ ob. pro pecuniis receptis pro cera [candela.
Et R de 8ᶫ pro firma Ecclãrum de Llanwenan
Suña [28ᶫ] 14ᶫ 9ˢ 10ᵈ ob.
Suña totalis 89 15 5

[31.]

Computus in denariis solutis ꝑ dict computant año ut supra.

Imprimis for wax bought as by the particulars [hereof is to be shewed and above one hundred weight to be [paid by the Treasurer after yᵉ rate of the pound 21ˢ 2ᵈ Iᵗ 48 pare of shews for yᵉ use of yᵉ queresters for the hole year 37ˢ iiijᵈ Iᵗ for white thread & black 8ᵈ Iᵗ for singing bread for yᵉ hole year 6ˢ Iᵗ for 25 [yards of black fyrse at 16ᵈ the yard for yᵉ queresters [gowns 33ˢ 4ᵈ Iᵗ for thread and lynning cloath for yᵉ same 12ᵈ [Iᵗ for making of yᵉ 6 gowns 4ˢ Iᵗ for a pensyon out of [Gefferston & Sᵗ Twinels unto the church of Muncton 4ˢ Iᵗ for parchment for this account 3ˢ 4ᵈ Iᵗ for yᵉ portage of 10ᶫ frõ Llandeloy and Llanhowel & his owne pains [with the acquittance 6ˢ Iᵗ for halfe a horse skyn for bawdryns 2ˢ 6ᵈ Iᵗ for making of a surples to one of yᵉ queristers 6ᵈ Iᵗ for 3. yards of lyning cloath & halfe ad 8ᵈ ꝑ [yard 2ˢ 4ᵈ Iᵗ for making of a silke and mending of other albes [19ᵈ Iᵗ for rybynd tapes for vestments & copes 2ˢ 4ᵈ Iᵗ [for coloured thread for yᵉ same vestments 16ᵈ Iᵗ for 6 [pound of wyrtyarne [?] after 8ᵈ yᵉ pound 4ˢ Iᵗ for frankensence 11ᶫ [4ˢ Iᵗ for yᵉ hole quyers fees at Xtmas 9ˢ 6ᵈ Iᵗ [for Bp. Martyn's obitt the 11ᵗʰ day of March 17ˢ Iᵗ for [5ᶫ of Rossin agst Candlemas 10ᵈ Iᵗ for 2 dossen of matts for [yᵉ quire 2ˢ Iᵗ payd to my Lord for Morgayns sute 45ˢ Iᵗ [for glasing of yᵉ church at Llanunda 15ˢ Iᵗ the quyer fees on Easter day 7ˢ 11ᵈ Iᵗ for mending of yᵉ coopes [and vestments 5ˢ Iᵗ for mending of yᵉ bellrope 2ᵈ Iᵗ for sope to wash the church cloaths 6ᵈ Iᵗ for 29 gallons of wine for Easter after 5ᵈ yᵉ quart 31ˢ 8ᵈ Iᵗ for masse wine for yᵉ hole year as appears by the store of yᵉ clerk 25ˢ Iᵗ for mending yᵉ queristers surplices for yᵉ hole year 12ᵈ Iᵗ for washing the church cloaths the hole year 12ᵈ Iᵗ for shaving & poling the queristers 2ˢ Iᵗ for making of yᵉ waxe for yᵉ hole year 10ˢ Iᵗ paid to phy giving knowledge of certain glebe lands & bringing in

Suma 11ᶫ 12ˢ 1ᵈ

Iᵗ paid to yᵉ men that did helpe the howstiling people at Easter 12ᵈ Iᵗ for building of yᵉ school house [10ᶫ 15ˢ Iᵗ for yᵉ maund on good thursday as it appeareth [29ˢ 6ᵈ for wine for them yᵗ sung the passion 6ᵈ Iᵗ for yᵉ [days being at Carmarthen about the roods in yᵉ church 6ˢ Iᵗ for tabling 6 queristers for yᵉ whole year after yᵉ rate [of 8ᵈ a weeke a peece 10ˡ 8ˢ Iᵗ for making clean of yᵉ [church 5ˢ 4ᵈ Iᵗ for ringing of yᵉ curfey-bell 10ˢ Iᵗ for [keeping of the clock 10ˢ Iᵗ for sewing the apparell upon yᵉ [albes of the clerke 2ˢ Iᵗ for carrying about the holy water

[32.]
to y^e 2 clerkes 13^s 4^d I^t for skowring and making [cleanest
y^e basons and other ymplements of y^e church 2^s [I^t for the
Proctor's fees in setting in setting the churchs to [farme 13^s 4^d I^t
for y^e comunar for part of his fees 4^s 4^d I^t paid
for the chauntrys of Llandeloy and Llanhowell [10^£ (de hoc
deliberatũ est) I^t paid to y^e Parish Preist for his
years wages 26^s 8^d I^t paid to y^e Proctors of the
Chapter 40^s I^t to y^e Cõmunar his fee again 26^s 8^d
I^t to y^e Vicars Chorall for their liverys 11^£ I^t to y^e
Receav^r for his fee 40^s I^t to y^e m^r of y^e children
for keping of y^e organs and teaching of y^e queris- [ters 10^l
I^t to Gryffith ap Howell virgerer for his fee 33^s 4^d
I^t to my lords Vicar y^t teacheth y^e children their
lessons & versicles in y^e quyer 6^s 8^d I^t to the 2
auditors for their fees 13^s 4^d I^t to y^e Clerke for writ-
ing of this accompt 3^s 4^d I^t for ye tabeler & the
sextons fee 30^s I^t to my l^d for his fee 40^s I^t
to John Draper for his fee 20^s I^t for paper inke &
redd wax spent about leases

Sum̃a	60^£	5^s	4^d
Sum̃a õium solutionum	71	17	5
et sic sum̃a receptorũ excedit sum̃am solutionũ	16	8	0

Sic est quod Hugo Llewis Thesau: affirmat
Idem affirmat Sui
Petit allocari pro certis redditibus adhuc non re- [ceptis
pro hoc an° Imprimis pro redditu de Bringwyn 2^s
I^t pro Priore de Carmarthen 5^s I^t pro Cardigan 4^s
I^t pro pensione de Oystermouth 2^s I^t pro pensione de
Llanthony 10^s I^t pro pensiõe de Manorbrey 20^d
I^t pro Castro Mauritii 10^s I^t pro Abbate de Glocester
7^s I^t pro Lanbyter & Lanvihangelorath 13^s 4^d I^t pro
Trefgarne 8^s I^t pro Llangathen 8^s I^t pro Treff-
vethick 5^s I^t pro Rupe 10^s

Sum̃a allocaõum est	8	17	2
Et sic sum̃a receptorũ excedit sum̃am allocatõum	7	10	10

[33.]
Queen Elizabeth.
Anno Regni 3.
Thomas Young Byshop.
Computus Griffini aphowel comũnar canonicor' Resident in Eccla Cathedralj Menev. per tres quartas a festo Stj Petrj ad vincula an° Dnj 1560 usq' ad idem Festũ an° revoluto ultimj
Imprimis recepi de arreragijs annj p'cedentis Sum̃a
et R. de 3^s 4^d pro redditu terræ Stj Dogwelis hoc [an°
et R. de 46. 8^d pro firma Ecclæ Stj Dogwelis hoc [an°
et R. de 24^£ pro firma Ecclæ de Llanavan^i hoc an° sic dimiss
et R. de 5^£ pro firma Ecclæ de Llandebey hoc an° [sic dimiss
et R. de 8^£ 13^s 4^d Ecclæ de Llanrustith hoc an° sic [dimiss
et R. de 13^£ 6^s 8^d de pensiõe de Llandyssillo hoc an°
Sum̃a total recept. 53^£ 10^s

Computus in denarijs solutis p p'fatũ computant. [viz.

Imprimis solut vicarijs choralibus pro stipendio ijs debito de firma llanavanvaur	5^£		
et pro feodo Procurat capitulj	0	13	4
et auditoribus hujus computus	0	1	8
et clerico quj hunc computũ scripsit....	0	1	4
Sum̃a totalis allocat'	5	16	4
et sic remanet sup ipsũ comput ..... unde	47	13	8
Portio Reverendj patris Rolandj Bangor Epj comẽndatarij	11	18.	5.
Portio Tho: Huett p'cent dictj capitulj .	11.	18.	5.
Portio M^ri Powell Cancellarij	11.	18.	5.
Portio Thesaurarij	11.	18.	5

unde de quolibet p'dict Resident pro decimis 23^s 10^d q^a & pro subsidio 21^s 5^d ob q^a
Sum̃a totalis 9^£ 13^s ob plus in toto 2^d ob
Ita est per me Rolandum Bangor hujus computus auditorem
verũ est p me Thomã Huett Precentor dictæ Ecclæ Menev.
per me Hugonĩ aprice auditorẽ

[34.]
Computus Gruffinj ap Howell cõmunarij canonicor' Resident in Eccl̃ Cathedralj menev. per 26 septimanas a festo Stj Petrj ad vincula anõ dnj 1560 usq' ad idem festũ an° revoluto
Imprimis Recepi de arreragijs ultimj annj p'cedentis sumãm
et R. de 26ᶫ 13ˢ 4ᵈ pro firma Eccl̃æ de llandovery
et R. de 10ᶫ pro firma Eccl̃æ de Bigildie
et R. de 8ᶫ pro firma Eccl̃æ Stj Winocj
et R. de 20ˢ pro firma Eccl̃æ de Henevenew
et R. de 10ᶫ pro firma Eccl̃æ de Nantmeld
Sum̃a 55ᶫ 13ˢ 4ᵈ
et R. de 20ˢ de Mʳᵒ Pratt Arch Menev
et R. de 20ˢ de Mʳᵒ Walt Johns Arch Brechon
et R. de 20ˢ de Mʳᵒ Lewson Arch de Carmarthen
et R. de 20ˢ de Arch de Cardigan
et R. de 20 de Llangan
et R. de 20 de Mʳᵒ Precentore
et R. de 20 de Mʳᵒ Cancell̃
et R. de 20 de Mʳᵒ Thesaurar.
et R. de 20 de Merthrie
et R. de 20 de p̃bend de Penfoce
et R. de 20 de p̃bend de Cliday
et R. de 20 de Llandewy aberarthe
et R. de 13ˢ 4ᵈ de p̃bend de Caervarzelle
et R. de 13 4 de p̃bend de Trefflodone
et R. de 13. 4. de p̃bend de Caervaye
et R. de 13. 4. de p̃bend cursal dñæ Reginæ
et R. de 13. 4. de p̃bend cursal
et R. de 13. 4 de p̃bend cursall Wiłłmj DDs
et R. de 13. 4 de p̃bend cursal
et R. de 13. 4 de p̃bend cursal
et R. de 13. 4. de p̃bend cursal
Sumã 18ᶫ
suma total' recept 73 13ˢ 4ᵈ

Computus in denarijs solutis p dict computant hoc [an°
Imprimis pro feodo Procurator' 26ˢ 8ᵈ
et pro feodo comũnar..... 3ˢ 4ᵈ
et pro feodo auditor' hujus computus .... 5. 0.
et clerico quj hunc computũ scripsit..... 2 0
Suma allocat 37ˢ
et sic remanet..... 71ᶫ 16ˢ 4ᵈ
unde
super Precentorem ibidẽ 20ˢ
Cancellar ibm 20ˢ
} q^r Residentiar
Thesaurarium ibm 20
p̃bend de Treflodon 13 4

Sumã allocat } 3ᶫ 13ˢ 4ᵈ

[35.]
et sic super ipsũ computantẽ dividend inter 4^r Residentes 68ᶫ iijˢ
Portio reverendj patris Bangor Epj cõmendatarij [17ᶫ 0 9ᵈ
Portio Thomæ Huett precentoris..... 17 0 9
Portio Mʳⁱ DD Powell cancellarij 17 0 9
Portio Mʳ Hugonis Aprice Thesaurarij . 17 0 9
unde de quolibet p̃dict Resident pro decimis 34ˢ 4ᵈ ob qª et pro subsid. 30ˢ 8ᵈ
Sumã total' decimar' et subsidior' de quolibet 4ʳ ..... } 3ᶫ 4ˢ 8ᵈ ob qª
unde sumã total'—orum decenar' et subsid' pro hoc an°..... } 12ᶫ 18ˢ 11ᵈ
Ita est per me Rolandũ Bangoren hujus computus Auditorem
Per me Tho: Huett Precentorẽ dictæ Eccl̃æ Menev.
Per me DD Powvel cancellar̃ auditorem hujus computus

Computus Gruffini ap Howell comũnarij Canonicor' Resident Eccl̃æ Cathed. menev. a festo Stj Petrj ad vincula an° Dñj 1560 usq; ad idem festum an° revoluto
Imprimis recepi de arreragijs ultimj annj 9ᶫ 16ˢ 4ᵈ ob
et R. de 2ˢ de Bringwyn hoc an°
et R. de 2ˢ 8ᵈ de quadã terra vocat tyrbarre hoc an°
et R. de 10ˢ de redditu de Rosson hoc an°
et R. de 17ˢ de redditu Canonicor' hoc an°
et R. de 5 de capella Sᵗᵉ Nonitæ hoc an°
et R. de 3ˢ 4ᵈ pro cimiterio Sᵗ Davids hoc an°
Sumã 11ᶫ 16ˢ 4ᵈ ob
et R. de 10ᶫ pro de firmis Eccl̃ar' villæ Galfridi & [Sᵗ Oswaldj hoc an°
et R. de 08ᶫ de firma Eccl̃æ paroch de Llanunda [hoc an°
et R. de 10ᶫ de firma Eccl̃ar' de Llandeloy & Llan- [howell hoc an°
et R de 40ˢ de firma Eccl̃e Sᵗᵉ Edrinæ hoc an°
et R. de 16ᶫ de firma Eccl̃æ Paroch. de Lliwell [hoc an°
et R. de 12ˢ de alteragijs albæ Eccl̃æ hoc an°
suma 46 12ˢ ultra 4ˢ in decasu
de alteragijs albæ Eccl̃æ computand p'xim an° per comũnarium
et R. de 13ˢ 4ᵈ de manerio Cancell. menev. hoc [an°

et R. de 4£ de Indempnitate Abbatis de Talley hoc [an°
et R. de 5s pro pensione Prioris de Carmardyn hoc [an°
et R. de 4s pro pensione Prioris de Cardigan hoc [an°
et R. de 2s pro pensiõe de Ostermouthe hoc an°
et R. de 18s pro pensione de Llanbadarne hoc an°
et R. de 5s pro decimis de Treffdeane hoc an°
et R. de 22s pro pensiõe de Whittlande hoc an°
et R. de 10s pro pensiõe de Llantony in Wallia [hoc an°
et R. de 20d pro pensione de mannerbyre hoc an°
et R. de 10s pro castro mauritij hoc an°
et R. de 7s de Abbate Glocestriæ hoc an°
et R. de 8s de Llangathen hoc an°
et R. de 13s 4d de Llanybyther & Llanyhangel [oratt hoc an°
et R. de 8s de Treffgarne hoc an°
et R. de 4£ 9s 6d de oblãobus ad magnũ altare hoc [an°
et R. de 8£ de firmis Llanweren & Silian hoc an°
et R. de 5s de Treffwethich hoc an°
et R. de 10s de Rupe hoc an°
Sum̃a 23£ 11s 10d
et R. de 7s 10d de purificãobus mulier hoc an°
et R. de 8s de desponsalibus hoc an°
et R. de 20d exitu terræ pertinent ad capellã Stj Justinianj hoc anõ sum̃a 17s 6d
[37.]
Suma total Receptor' hoc an° 82£ 17s 8d ob

Computus in denarijs solutis p p'fatũ Gruffinũ ap [Howel computantem hoc an° de quibus petit allocari
Imprimis pd for ye Vicars liverys 11£ s d
It for ye virgifers fee..... 1 13 4
It for ye clerks fee.....
It to ye Mr of ye children for his fee
It for ye Curates wages.....
It for ye Bishop's vicars fee.... 0 6 8
It for ye table of 6 quoresters... 10 8 0
It for Henevenew to ye vicars .. 1 13 4
It for ye landers fee 0 5 0
It for ye barbers fee 0 4 0
It to ye Queens Receiver for Llandeloy & Llanhowell } 10. 0. 0 and for the losse of ye money by reason of the proclamaõn 1
It to ye clerke of ye chapter for [his fee 0. 10. 0.
It for matts in ye quyer .....
It for ye Sexdenes fee.....
It for ye Comuner his fee.....
It for certain distributions given to ye Vicars by Bp Martyn & Bp Carew
It for ye quyer fees at Xtmas...
It for my Ld of Canterbury's [visitãon
It for 3 skins of parchment to make letters of Atturney under ye chapter seale
It for a pound of sealing wax ..
It for writing the said 9 acquittances & a letter of atturney ..
It pd to Sr Harris Jenkinson for keeping the Grammar school for a yeare.....
It for 6 gowns to ye queristers..
It to for serving the church of Whitchurch for ye whole year
It for bread the whole year for the church .....
It for show's to ye queristers ...

[38.]
Anno 8° *Regni*
Queen Elizabeth.
Richard Davies: Episcopus.
Computus Gruffini ap Howell Cōmunarii Canonicor' Resident in Eccl̄a Cath. Menev. a festo S^ti Petri ad vincula an° Dn̄i 1565 usq; ad id̄e festum an° revoluto.
Inprimis recepi in arreragiis ultimi anni 37£ 10s 10d [ob.
Et R. de 2s 8d quadā terra vocat tyre barie hoc an°
Et R de 20s de redditu de Rossan hoc an°
Et R de 27s de redditu Canonicor' hoc an°
Et R de 5s de Capella S^cae Nonitæ hoc an°
Et R de 3s 4d de Cimiterio S^ti David hoc an°
Et R. de 3s 4d de domo juxta pontem hoc anno
Sum̄a 39£ 12s 6d ob.
Et R de 10£ de firmis Ecclarum villæ Galfride & [Sti Oswaldi hoc an°
Et R de 8£ de firma Eccl̄æ de Llanunda hoc an°
Et R de 10£ de firmis Eccl̄arum de Landeloy & [Lanhowell hoc an°
Et R de 40s de firma Eccl̄æ S^tae Edrinæ hoc an°
Et R de 16£ de firma Eccl̄æ de Lluell hoc ano
Et R de 13s de alteragiis Albæ Eccl̄æ hoc an°
Sum̄a 46£ 13s 0d
Et R de 33s 4d pro firma Eccl̄æ Henevenew hoc an°
Et R de 13s 4d de manerio Cancellarii hoc an°
Et R de 4£ de indempnitatibs Abbatis de Talley [hoc an°
Et R de 18s pro pensiōe de Llanbadarnvaur hoc an°
Et R de 5s pro decimis de Treffdeane hoc an°
Et R de 22d pro pensiōe de Whitland hoc an°
Et R de 20d pro pensiōe de manner bire hoc an°
Et R de 4£ 3s 4d de oblaōbs ad magnū altare hoc [an°
Et R de 8£ de firma Ecclar' wenon & Silion hoc an°
Et R de 8s de Treffgarne hoc an°
Sum̄a 21£ 4s 8d
Et R de 9s 4d de purificaōbus mulier hoc an°
Et R de 14s de desponsalibus hoc an°
Et R. de 20d d terr' ptinent ad capellā S^ti Justiniani [hoc an°
Et R de 2s de Bringwyn hoc an°
Et R de 5s pro pensiōe Carmarthen hoc an°
Et R de 4s pro pensiōe Prioris de Cardigan hoc an°
Et R de 2s de Ostermouthe hoc an°
Et R de 7s de abbate Glocest hoc an°
Et R de 10s pro pensiōe de Llantony in Wallia hoc [an°
Et R. de 10s de Castro S^ti Mauritii hoc an°
Et R. de 13s 4d de Lanbyther & Llanvihangell hoc [an°
Et R. de 5s de Treffvethigge hoc an°
Et R de 10s de Rupa hoc an°
Et R de 10s de Thesaur menev. pro cera hoc an°
Et R de 8s de Llangathene hoc an°
Sum̄a 5£ 11s 4d

[39.]
Sum̄a total' Receptor' 113£ 18d ob.

Computus Solutus in denariis p dict Gruffinum ap howell cōmunar' de quibus allocāoem petit
Imprimis for y^e livery of y^e Vicars choral 11£

I^t for y^e virgefer his fee	33s	4d
I^t for y^e Clerke his fee	42s	8d
I^t to y^e M^r of y^e querister for his wages	6£ 13s	4d
I^t to y^e Curate for his wages	26s	8d
I^t to y^e Bishop's Vicar for his fee	6s	8d
I^t for y^e table of 5 choristers	8£ 13s	4d
I^t for Henevenewe to y^e Vicars choralls	33s	4d
I^t for y^e landers fee & washing of the choristers surplice	3s	4d
I^t to the barber his fee	2s	
I^t to y^e Queens ma^ty for Landeloe & [Llanhowell	10£	
I^t for portage money & acquittance...	5s	5d
I^t for making of y^e table for y^e whole year	5s	
I^t for y^e Sexdean's fee.....	25s	
I^t for ye Comuners his fee	4£ 16s	8d
I^t for certain distribūons granted to y^e Vicars chorall by B^p David Martyn and Richard Carewe....	26s	
I^t for quyre pennes at Xtmas ut patet per billam examinatā.....	7s	4d
I^t for quyre pennes at Easter ut patet p billā exāiatam	5s	10d
I^t to y^m y^t did helpe to serve y^e parish at Easter		12d
I^t for wax to serve y^e church the whole yeare sixteen pound	16s	
I^t for making the said wax & weckhorne	3s	10d
I^t for the chorister's livery's, thredd & making of y^e same	41s	8d
I^t for y^e choristers shows, ledder and mending for y^e year	34s	3d
I^t for bread & wine to serve y^e church for y^e year, & Whitchurch at Easter	23s	
I^t for parchment, paper & yncke for y^e year	5s	4d

[40.]

It to ye clerke of ye chapter for his fee	10s	
It to Richard Smyth for his fee for ye clock	5s	
It for a rope to mak tresses [?] for ye organs to		6d
It for new wyre for the clock		18d
It for halfe a horse skynne to make bawdrings to ye bells		18d
It for making up of the church-yard wall	2s	4d
It for making the pulpitt cloath and two cowtions	2s	8d
It for flock to stuffe ye said cowtions		18d
It for 3. sawters bocks for ye church	4s	8d
It for 3 bocks of Jenevia Salmes	5s	
It for my charges twice to Abermarles for ye pention of Llanbadarne		
It to Richard Smyth for moving of ye clock & bringing of ye same to his place again	2s	
It for yerne	3s	10d
It upon ye vaene [?] of ye clock yerne		2d
It for a lock to ye Storehouse	2s	
It for mending of a lock to ye choristers coffer		5d
It for ye inward lock of ye vestrie		4d
It for mending of ye key of ye upper doore		1d
It for clampes & spikes to ye Rooad loft		8d
It for making two Stops for ye great Organs		6d
It for turning & dressing of ye bells clapers		16d
It for mending of ye weddere cocke	3s	
It to ye clerke for writing of this rolle	3s	4d
It for the reedifiing of thone halfe of Nantmells chancell	3£	
Suma expositor' 64£ 3s 2d et in super		
Solut' Auditiri hujus computi 6s 8d		
Et firmariis de munckton p pensiõe sua	4s	
E Mro Rastell 40s et pro parte feodi sui in arreragiis a retro insolut' iuxta conventiõem cum eodem factũ 20s in toto	3£	
Et Davidi Walter atturnat Capituli ex cõi assensu Capituli per trienniũ duratur et ulterius ad placitũ pro feodo suo p annũ	20s	

[41.]

Et duobus Procuratoribs pro feodis suis hoc anº 40s

Sumã 6£ 10s 8d

Sumã total' Receptor' 113£ 18d ob

Sumã total' exposit' 70 13 10 et Sic debet dictus computans sup determinaõem hujus compi 42 7 8 ob. unde

Arreragia pro 5. annis ultimò elapsis. Super

Bryngwyn pro quolibet anº 2s in toto 20s Priorat' de Carmarthen pro consimili pro quolibet anno 5s in toto 25s Priorat' de Cardigan pro indempnitate pro consimili pro quolibet anº 4s in toto 20s

Ostermouth pro quolibet anº 2s in toto 10s

Castrũ Mauritii pro quolibet anº 5s in toto 50s

Abbat Glocestriæ pro quolibet anº 7s in toto 35s

Llangathen pro quolibet anno 8s in toto 40s

Llanybither & Llanvihangell yorath pro quolibet anº 13s 4d in toto 3£ 6s 8d idq; pro indempnitate Trevethig pro quolibet anº 5s in toto 25s Rupam pro quolibet anº 10s in toto 50s et Priorem de Llantoni pro pensiõe pro duobus annis ultimò elapsis debit pro quolibet anº 10s in toto 20s

Sumã 17£ 11s 8d

Super Henricũ Goddarde clericũ nuper cõmunar dictæ Ecclæ in arreragiis sui computi hujus libri de anº Dnĩ 1559 in festo Petri ad Vincula prout in pede sui compi apparet. 9£ 16. 4. ob.

Super dictũ Henr. Goddarde pro arreragiis à retro insolut' pro duobus annis finitis in festo Petri ad Vincula in anº Dnĩ 1560 pro firma de Henvynyw pro quolibet anº 33s 4d in toto 3£ 6s 8d

Super Wilhelmũ Martyn nuper Cõmunar dictæ Ecclæ pro arreragiis sui computi libri cõis à festo Petri ad vincula in anº Dñi 1557. usq; ad idem festũ anº revoluto prout per dictũ computũ plenius apparet 8£ 11s 2d et pro arreragiis firmæ de Henvynywe pro dicto anº non onerat in dicto comput prout oportet sed allocat' sine ulla oneratione 10£ 4s 6d

Suma total' arrerag. 40£ 19s 2d ob. et sic debet dominus computans super determinacionem hujus computi. 28s 6d

Per me Hugonẽ a Price auditor' nat—

Per me Tho. Huett Precent. menev. alterum auditorem.

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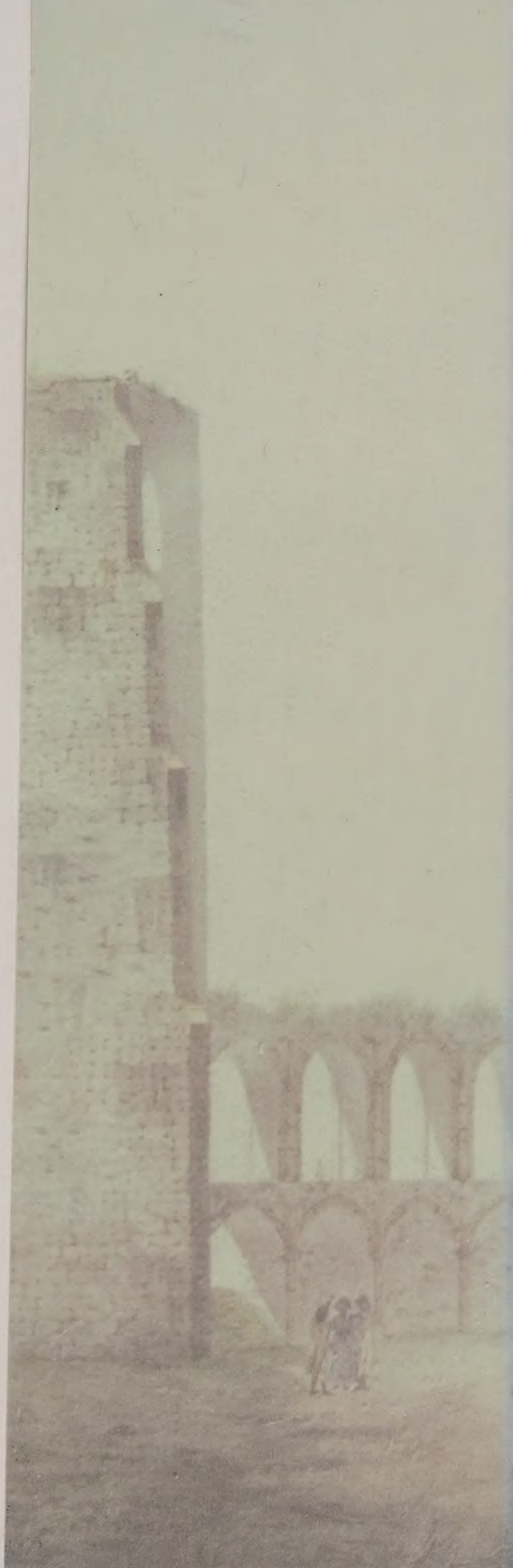

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